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EAN ANTOINE HOUDON

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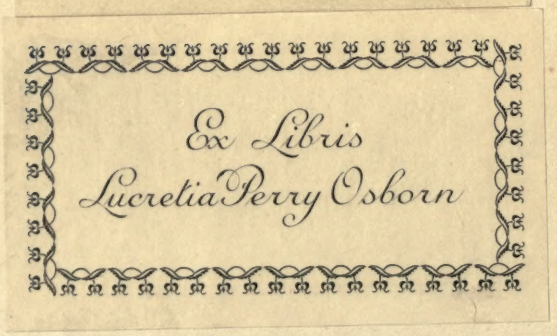
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Chas Henry Stark

Edward T Riddle

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

AND WORKS OF

JEAN ANTOINE HOUDON

THE SCULPTOR OF

VOLTAIRE AND OF WASHINGTON

Boudon

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VOLTAIRE AND OF WASHINGTON

BY

CHARLES HENRY HART

AND

EDWARD BIDDLE

WITH THIRTY-THREE ILLUSTRATIONS

PHILADELPHIA
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MCMXI

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Charles Henry Hart and Edward Biddle

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Proem

IN presenting to the public these memoirs of the life of Jean Antoine Houdon, it seems a little strange that this tardy justice to him should come from this side of the water, and that while his art is appreciated in his own land, in Britain and on the Continent, no one of his own tongue should have devoted a volume to his extraordinary career. Of course to the American people Houdon is very near from his having chiseled the famous statue of Washington, which has preserved best the features and form of that immortal character, as also from his having sculptured busts of Franklin, Jefferson, Paul Jones, La Fayette, Fulton and Barlow, so that it is quite natural we should be deeply interested in his life and in his works. It was this keen interest of the writers that has resulted in the present work, in which his life, both as an artist and as a man, is traced with a fullness that was felt very doubtful of accomplishment when first undertaken. From the bibliography it will be seen that two brief sketches of Houdon's life were printed in France more than half a century ago, but they were published in such a way as to be unknown outside of the limited few who would delve for them, they having appeared respectively in the "Revue Universelle des Arts,"

in 1855, and in "Mémoires de la Société des Sciences Morales, des Lettres et des Arts de Seine-et-Oise," 1857.

What seems quite a coincidence in this connection is the fact that Houdon's career would appear to be too big a subject to be tackled single-handed, as the first mentioned memoir was written in collaboration by Messrs. Montaiglon and Duplessis, the second by Messrs. Délerot and Legrelle, and the present by the undersigned. As the material used in this work was necessarily chiefly in French, and a large part unpublished manuscripts, all the translations have been made by Mr. Biddle, who has also prepared the chapters on the "Statues of Morphée and of Diana," on "Voltaire" and on "Molière, Rousseau and Mirabeau," while Mr. Hart is responsible for those on "Franklin," on the "Tomb of Montgomery," on "John Paul Jones," on "La Loge des Neuf-Sœurs," on "Washington" and on "La Fayette." The other chapters are composite; but that the work should be absolutely homogeneous, Mr. Hart has revised Mr. Biddle's chapters, and Mr. Biddle has done the like service for those by Mr. Hart.

The writers were both surprised and delighted at the richness of the field when they ploughed deeply into the published and unpublished material both at home and abroad; but their employment of it would have been impossible were it not for the unusual courtesies extended to them on all sides. To the Librarians of the Library of Congress, of Harvard University, of the Boston Public Library, of the State Library of Virginia, of the Metropolitan Museum,

New York, of the American Philosophical Society and of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, especial acknowledgments are due and are most gratefully given for facilities extended, without which it would have been out of the question to make this volume as full and as complete as we feel it is. Owing to the many errors we have detected and corrected, some parts of the work may seem to the superficial reader to savor of the controversial; but, while we have not hesitated at acute criticism where necessary, we have not aimed at, nor do we desire, controversy. We feel assured that the reader will agree with us that Houdon's life was too rich to be left unwritten, and we are well pleased that it was left for us to accomplish.

CHARLES HENRY HART.
EDWARD BIDDLE.

PHILADELPHIA, December, 1911.

LIFE AND WORKS OF JEAN ANTOINE HOUDON

CHAPTER I

1741–1769

BIRTH AND STUDENT DAYS IN ROME—STATUES OF SAINT BRUNO AND OF JOHN THE BAPTIST—THE ÉCORCHÉ

JEAN ANTOINE HOUDON was born at Versailles, France, on the 20th of March, 1741. His parentage was humble, for we learn that his father, Jacques Houdon, was a servant in the house of M. Delamotte. His mother's maiden name was Anne Rabache; our sculptor being the third child born of this union.

His earliest years were passed at Versailles, and, perhaps unconsciously, in the midst of its gardens filled with works of art, his taste and predilection for sculpture first took root. At any rate, at a very early age he evinced a strong bent toward the art in which he was to become so famous. When about five years of age, his family removed to Paris; his father still being employed by the intendant Delamotte. Here Jacques Houdon, the father, seems to have held the post of "concierge," and on the death of M. Delamotte, the widow having rented the building to the King for the purposes of an art school, Jacques Houdon remained as its janitor.

This school, or, to give it its full title, "L'École des Élèves Protégés," was established in 1748, when our little Jean Antoine was

seven years old. It is so linked with his after development that we give some account of its history. It appears that in 1747 Coypel, "the first painter to the King" and then director of the "Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture," in Paris, complained of the poor work sent in by the art students holding royal scholarships in Rome. He attributed this to the lack of sufficient preparation for the sojourn in Rome, and therefore he proposed to Tournehem, then director-general of the royal buildings, to establish a special school in which the holders of scholarships might be prepared by a course of three years for their studies in Rome. Louis XV showed himself favorably inclined toward this proposal; Coypel drew up the act; and early in the following year the institution was established and opened under the title, "École des Élèves Protégés."

The school, as already mentioned, was installed in the house of the late intendant Delamotte, which abutted immediately on the old Louvre, close to the present Place du Carrousel, where the Gallery of the Academy of Painting was then to be found. From this time on, our Jean Antoine lived continually in the environment of artists. Later on, when somewhat older, to quote from Raoul Rochette,[1] Houdon's son-in-law, "He tiptoes into the class-room, and is happy if he can snatch a few pieces of moist clay in order to imitate the work of the students. The attention of the professors, especially of Pigalle, was attracted to the zeal and talent which his attempts showed, and he considered it worth while to give advice

[1] Preface to Houdon Sale Catalogue of 1828.

and encouragement to the boy, hardly more than ten or twelve years old at that time." The whole atmosphere in which the lad lived and moved and had his being was impregnated with art; if he entered the court of the Louvre, the studios of Francin and Vassé, Pigalle, LeMoyne, Falconet, Slodtz, Bouchardon, and some two or three others, were temptingly at hand. With the friendly feelings of a number of these artists toward our embryo sculptor, opportunities for intercourse with them must have been frequent. Probably induced by the professors, who had noticed the boy's talent, he entered the "Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture," where he began to draw from the model, which is the basis of all artistic development. His teachers were the professors of the Academy, who changed monthly in giving instruction.

In order to stimulate the diligence of the students, they had to work for their places. Every three months the best three students received a prize. This was called the small prize, in distinction from the "Grand Prix de Rome." Houdon received the former prize as early as the 25th of September, 1756, at the age of fifteen years.[1] As the quarterly prize just mentioned consisted of a silver medal, the winners were called "medalists." They enjoyed the right and honor of entering the studio preceding the other students and immediately after the professors and the "Élèves protégés." In the new class they no longer limited themselves to copying, but

[1] "Registres de l'Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1756, 25 Septembre" (Archives de l'École des Beaux Arts). See note, Dierks, Houdon's Leben und Werke, p. 5.

began to work from nature and to make original compositions under the instruction of the teacher. There is mention of Houdon's winning third prize for a study from life about this period, Duvivier, the medalist, having carried off first prize, and Le Brun, the painter, second.

With such studies time passed. The next goal for Houdon's effort was in competition for the grand prize, "Prix de Rome"; the test for the talent of the up-growing artists. In 1761, when twenty years of age, he considered himself strong enough to enter the lists with his fellow-students. The competition was opened, as usual, some days before the first Saturday in April. The subject given out was "The Queen of Sheba offers Presents to King Solomon," of which a sketch in bas-relief was to be made.[1] On the 4th of April the finished sketches were submitted to the assembled members of the Academy, and after examining them, they considered the sculptor students Pollet, Houdon, Boucher and Fourreau entitled to compete for the grand prize. They now had to execute their sketches in special and separate booths. On the 15th of August the works were finished and on the feast of St. Louis they were exhibited for public criticism in the halls of the Academy. On the 29th of August, 1761, the final decision was given out, *Houdon receiving the first prize.*[2]

This event was decisive for the future of the young artist. Be-

[1] Houdon preserved the bas-relief he made and with which he won the prize until the time of his death. It appears in the Sale Catalogue of 1828.

[2] Dierks, p. 5, quotes "Registres de l'Académie, 1761, 29 Août."

sides the gold medal received for winning in the competition, he also gained the privilege of seven years' study at the expense of the King. To begin with, he entered the "École des Élèves Protégés," which was established, as we have already seen, to prepare students by a three years' course for their studies in Rome. At this point it seems proper to state that neither Montaiglon and Duplessis nor Délerot and Legrelle appear to have known the fact of Houdon's having first entered this school in Paris before going to Rome; on the contrary, they are quite vague as to the length of Houdon's sojourn in Rome, putting it at anywhere from seven to ten years. Dr. Hermann Dierks, however, with characteristic German thoroughness,[1] unearthed from the Archives Nationales, *O,* 1094, p. 211, the "Brevet d'élève sculpteur de l'Académie de Rome pour le S. Houdon, du 19 Août, 1764." This is signed by the Marquis de Marigny, brother of Mme. de Pompadour, and is as follows:

"We, Marquis of Marigny—in consideration of the favorable reports made to us of the good conduct of Sieur Jean Antoine Houdon born at Paris [sic!] aged 23 years, and of his happy faculties in the art of sculpture which he has studied as well under M. Slodtz, Sculptor to the King, as at the École des Élèves Protégés, protected by his Majesty under M. Vanloo, Governor of said school, in which the said S. Houdon carried off first prize on the 29th of August, 1761, We have chosen and named him to take one of the places of Student Sculptors at the Academy in Rome, under the

[1] Houdon's "Leben und Werke," Dr. Hermann Dierks, Gotha, 1887, p. 11.

conduct and discipline of M. Natoire—with the responsibility by S. Houdon to apply himself with docility and assiduity to the studies and works that the said M. Natoire may order him. . . . In testimony of which—at Versailles—

"THE MARQUIS OF MARIGNY."

This, it will be seen, establishes:

First, that after winning the Prix de Rome, Houdon did not proceed to Italy until three years later; actually on the 11th of November, 1764;[1] and that in the meantime he pursued his studies in Paris.

Secondly, as we have the date of his return to France, "the end of the year 1768," that the time he spent in Rome covered just about *four years.* On this point Dr. Dierks in a note states, "The 10th of April, 1768, his name is still on the list of pensioners in Rome, but on the 25th of January, 1769, it is there no more."

Few details are obtainable of these years passed by Houdon in Rome. We learn, however, from a letter[2] bearing date January 7th, 1767, that he worked with ardor. "If I do nothing of mark," he writes, "at least I shall have nothing to reproach myself with." But this modest summing up of Houdon's merits, by himself, does not begin to do justice to his budding reputation. Italy, herself decadent at this period, confided to him the execution of a statue of Saint Bruno, Founder of the Carthusian Order in the eleventh cen-

[1] "L'Académie de France à Rome," Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol. VI, 1872, p. 16.
[2] Quoted by Délerot and Legrelle, p. 63.

SAINT BRUNO

tury, and intended for the Monastery of the Chartreuse. While not going the length of Délerot and Legrelle, who consider this figure even a greater work in some respects than the statue of Voltaire, we confess to a very great admiration for Houdon's conception. The naturalness and simplicity of the figure are remarkable and striking, especially considering the period of its execution, differing in this respect from the labored and studied art so prevalent at that period. The statue is nine and a half feet in height, and is placed in the *pronaos* of the Church of the Chartreuse in Rome, also known as the Church of St. Mary of the Angels. The idea of a "life dedicated to contemplation and religion" is admirably expressed in the features, attitude and expression of the holy cenobite, and the articulation of the hands is wonderful. Pope Clement XIV, on viewing it, is said to have exclaimed, " 'T would speak, did not the rules of its order enjoin silence." Connecting this anecdote with the time that Ganganelli ascended the papal throne, in May, 1769, would indicate that Saint Bruno was the work of Houdon's last years in Rome. An eminent English critic, Mr. Claude Phillips, has this to say of it:[1]

"He [Houdon] found time to execute a colossal statue of the founder of the Carthusian order of Saint Bruno, of which a cast is seen in the Trocadéro [Paris]. It is a work of surpassing dignity and simplicity, considering the age in which it was conceived and executed and the youth of the artist; indeed, in these respects it may

[1] The London Art Journal of 1893, Vol. XLV, p. 78.

be said to stand almost alone in the eighteenth century, which produced so many skilful executants but so few sculptors of the highest class."

Houdon also executed, while at Rome, his "Écorché," or skinless figure, an admirable anatomical study which Lalande, in his "Voyage in Italy," mentions as having been made in 1767. Houdon presented it to the Academy on his return to Paris, at the date of his "approbation" by that body. Afterward he modeled a second figure, with the right arm in a different position, the first having the arm extended at the level of the shoulder, while in the later one the arm is uplifted above the head. Houdon gave this also to the Academy, in 1792, to serve the students as a model. It is the better known of the two, and is the one which the government had cast in bronze. A striking fact about this model is its continued celebrity and the practical use made of it by students down to the present day. After the lapse of one hundred and forty-five years, we find it reproduced and cited in modern works on anatomy, still playing its part in the field for which it was created.

A statue of Saint John the Baptist of this period at Rome has given rise to a good deal of conjecture and doubt. The question has been raised whether Houdon ever made such a figure. The proofs that he did so seem to us overwhelming. Natoire, then the head of the school in Rome, states in a letter that the statue was ordered for the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, and there so late as 1887 Dr. Dierks notes the statue standing directly opposite the Saint Bruno,

"not of marble, to be sure, but carried out in gypsum." Dr. Dierks thinks the style to be undoubtedly Houdon's. This is supported by the following note in "L'Académie de France à Rome":[1]

11 février 1767 le Sr. Oudon sculpteur a fait dernièrement avec beaucoup de succès une étude d'anatomie, que tous les connoisseurs dans ce genre trouvent fort bien. Elle luy doi servir à sa statue de saint Jean-Baptiste pour l'église de Chartreux en la mettant ensuitte dans le caractère qui convient a cette figure.

A gypsum head of Saint John is in the Museum at Gotha, having been sent by Houdon, at a later period, to the court of the Duke, and in a letter of Houdon's dated the 3d year of the Republic occurs the following:

"J'ay de plus fait à Rome pour l'Église des Chartreux un St. Brunehaut [sic!] en marbre de 9 p ½, un St. Jean Baptiste."

Adding all these data together, we think it impossible to do otherwise than accredit Houdon with the statue of Saint John. There seems to have been some straining after effect in the figure, which the Saint Bruno is so free from, a reason probably for its not having shared the fame of the latter. The head, on the other hand, is described as fine, of classical outline and full of deep expression.

There is also record of a copy made by Houdon in marble of a Centaur, as dating from this period, which appears to have been at one time (1818) in the Luxembourg Museum.

With the completion of these various works, Houdon brought his student days to an end. The apprentice had become a master.

[1] Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol. VI, 1872, p. 16.

CHAPTER II

1769–1777

RETURN TO PARIS—RAPID RISE TO FAME—STATUES OF MORPHÉE AND DIANA—BUSTS OF DIDEROT, GLÜCK AND SOPHIE ARNOULD

BACK once more in Paris after an absence of four years in Rome, the first move Houdon made was to present himself for approbation to the Academy.[1] His Morpheus has always been the figure cited as the one to win his reception into the Academy through a life-size model in plaster, the only exemplar of which is now in the Museum at Gotha. Délerot and Legrelle and Montaiglon and Duplessis both give currency to the suggestion that the figure had been executed in Rome; but a later writer, Paul Vitry, in a contribution to the "Revue de l'Art" in 1907, makes out a strong case against this idea. According to his account, the rolls of the Academy under date of July 23, 1769, record that Houdon "exhibited from his works," that the Academy "recognized his capacity," and that "M. the Directeur will instruct him as to what he is to execute for his reception." Not until nearly eighteen months later, on the 31st of December, 1770, does one read that

[1] The Rules of the Academy required that one should first be approved, then become an Academician, afterward Professor, then Rector.—Paul Vitry, "La Revue de l'Art," No. 119, p. 149.

MORPHÉE

Houdon "has presented a sketch of the piece ordered him for his reception, which represents Morpheus." M. Vitry deduces from this, and we agree with him, that the Morpheus could hardly have figured among the student works that the young sculptor had brought with him from Rome and which he submitted to the judges of the Academy in 1769. On the contrary, it would seem to have been his first original work executed in Paris for submission to the Academy on *final* judgment.

He doubtless submitted his "Écorché" first, for the records of the Academy under date of September 30, 1769, register his offer[1] of a copy of this in plaster. Another piece might have been a sketch or reduction of his Saint Bruno, and, beyond doubt, some studies from the antique. When Houdon finally became Academician in the year 1777, he made for his *morceau de réception* a reduced figure, half life size, of his Morphée in marble. This is now at the Louvre.

Quatremère de Quincy, as Houdon's successor at the Institute, in a eulogy delivered at the Academy in 1829 on Houdon, stated that "the little model which made him *agrée,* and which later, rendered in marble, inducted him into the Academy, was that figure of Morpheus which he carried sometime later to life size." Montaiglon and Duplessis corrected this error in 1855, pointing out that at the Salon of 1771 there figured a Morpheus of *life size,* and that the figure was not *enlarged* but *reduced* later by Houdon in 1777 when

[1] Paul Vitry, "La Revue de l'Art," February 10, 1907.

he made the marble. The explanation of this, given by Délerot and Legrelle, is that the rules of the Academy prescribe that all sculpture intended for diploma work, *morçeaux de réception,* shall not exceed three feet in dimensions, thus saving an expense for material to the artist, and avoiding the dilemma to the Academy of having to care for a constantly growing collection of life-size figures.

The "Secret Memoirs," under date of September 22, 1777, pages 49, 50, 51, reviewing the Salon of 1777, write anent the marble Morpheus, "The Morphée of M. Houdon characterizes the God of Sleep so as to render him unmistakable. It is not an ordinary relaxation; it is an entire suspension of all the senses; it is a heavy, deep, and entire abandonment; it is a complete prostration, which would mean illness—lethargy—in a mortal, and is merely the natural state of this divinity. His wings alone seem to betray some action, some movement, doubtless to express in the midst of his torpor his complete ascendancy over nature."

Opinions seem to differ as to which of the two is the more convincing, the life-size plaster or the reduced marble. Montaiglon and Duplessis, writing in 1855, were of the opinion that the life-size figure, which they apparently had not seen, however, must have been superior, and that in the reduction it probably lost much of its strength and meaning. Paul Vitry, writing in the "Revue de l'Art," so late as February, 1907, having access to both the life-size plaster at Gotha and the smaller marble of the Louvre, takes an opposite view, rather criticizing unfavorably the "academic round-

ness" of the plaster model and extolling the finer lines and finish of the marble. From reproductions alone and without a comparison of the originals, it is difficult to express an opinion, and we do not attempt it ourselves, only remarking that it is natural to suppose that Houdon's art had advanced, and that the marble, made seven years later than the plaster, had the advantage of this greater maturity.

At the Salon of 1771, at which the life-size model of Morpheus was exhibited, Houdon showed also a medallion head of Alexander the Great, intended to serve as a pendant to an antique head of Minerva, and two heads of young men are also mentioned, probably studies. But what particularly marks Houdon's exhibitions at this Salon, foreshadowing, as they do, his future fame, are the portrait-busts; inaugurating a career in this special branch of sculpture, in which all agree he was to become unrivaled. Unfortunately, two of the busts were of persons toward whom the public, owing to certain happenings, were unfavorably disposed. These were M. Bignon, the Mayor of Paris, and his wife. Bignon was a man of good connections, but it so happened that at the celebration of the marriage of the Dauphin and Marie Antoinette the year previous, when Bignon was in office, a premature discharge of fire-works and a consequent panic resulted in a dreadful loss of life, some one hundred and thirty bodies being found trampled to death. A case of a somewhat similar nature in the reign of Louis XI, where severe punishment had been meted out to the Mayor, presented a prece-

dent for much unjust indignation; besides which, Bignon had had the temerity—or bad taste, perhaps—to show himself at the Opera shortly after the event, so that the public were not disposed to view a likeness of him with much favor.[1] Mme. Bignon, being plain of feature, did not help to relieve the situation.

Houdon's bust of Diderot, however, now at the Louvre, and probably one of the very best of his portrait-busts, made a great impression and marked the beginning of that series of masterpieces in portraiture which Houdon was to bequeath to posterity. The contrast between the incisive, nervous, and alert countenance of Diderot and the recumbent dreaming figure of Morpheus was very striking and attracted general notice and appreciative criticisms, as showing Houdon's versatile talent. Diderot himself points out the difficulties Houdon successfully overcame: "I wear a mask that deceives the artist; whether there are too many things blended together, whether the impressions I receive succeed each other too rapidly and show themselves all in my countenance, the artist thus never seeing me the same from one moment to another, his task becomes more difficult than he imagined."

At this exhibition, the Salon of 1773, Houdon had a great number of works. Success had come, and he was eagerly besought from every quarter, even outside of his own country. The reigning Duke of Saxe-Gotha and Altenburg engaged him to make his own bust,

[1] This marble bust is now in the Museum at Montpellier. Louis Gonze reproduces it in his book on the Museums of France.

those of his father, wife and sister; the Empress of Russia, her own bust; and the Galitzin family of Russia, two memorial tombs. His opportunity for carrying out the first of these commissions was afforded him by a stay of some months at the court of the Duke. In a species of note-book kept by Jacques Houdon, the father, there is mention of his son Jean Antoine's absence at Gotha from October 12 to December 20, 1771, and again from April 24 to July 1, 1773. The authority for this is a pamphlet by M. Gaudoin, who had access to the papers of Sabine Houdon, and a letter quoted by Délerot and Legrelle. The Duchess Charlotte, writing to Houdon in 1803, recalls the visit by saying, "Be assured that it is always with great pleasure I recall the time that I had the advantage of seeing you here with us." Houdon, not having visited Russia—indeed, he never went there—probably owed the Russian orders to Diderot's influence and the friendly offices of J. C. de Mailly, the enameler, whose wife had sat to Houdon for her bust. De Mailly had gone to Russia, and it is perhaps from one of the portraits of the great Catharine enameled by this artist that Houdon modeled the bust, which he made larger than life. The "Secret Memoirs" in "Letters on the Salon of 1773" have this to say of it: "This beautiful head, larger than the usually accepted size, seems to announce that Nature made an effort in giving birth to the immortal sovereign whom it represents."

After this period, Houdon no longer consented to work at haphazard without the presence of his model; and when it was proposed

that he should make a statue of Washington, he refused to undertake it unless it was agreed that he should see Washington and model him from the life. At the Salon of 1775, we find a superb collection of busts, including such names as Miromesnil, Keeper of the Seals; the celebrated Turgot,[1] Minister of Finance; the head in marble of the charming actress, Sophie Arnould, in the rôle of Glück's "Iphigenia," slightly flattered, it was thought, but full of grace; and beside this artist who interpreted his rôles, a model of Glück, the marble of which was exhibited at the following Salon. Glück was pock-marked, and Houdon, with his ideas of realism and fidelity toward his models, reproduced these blemishes faithfully. He was a good deal criticized for doing so. But the bust was afterward and is now counted as one of his most spirited and life-like creations. The marble has disappeared, but an admirable gypsum model is in the Berlin Museum.

One might suppose that the execution of all these matchless portraits would leave but little time or inclination for indulgence in imaginative work, and yet our artist had several pieces of that character on view at the same Salon: the plaster model of a female leaving the bath which was to be executed in marble; a head of Medusa, *à l'antique;* and the head of a young girl in bronzed plaster, remarked upon for its "expression of sweetness and simplicity." We shall find that Houdon became noted for this style of head, ex-

[1] A fine plaster cast of this bust at the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, was presented by Dupont de Nemours on December 6, 1816. Proceedings of Am. Phil. Soc., 1744–1838, p. 468.

pressing youthful innocence and naïveté, and the examples that we reproduce of the two children of Alexandre Brongniart, the architect of the Hôtel des Invalides, and of the sculptor's own two children, show why he should have become thus noted.[1] In connection with one, particularly, a very amusing anecdote is told. We quote from Bachaumont:[2] "The most curious head in this studio, through the novelty and originality of the story, is the bust of 'Mlle. Lise.' It must be recalled that in 1774 the City of Paris, instead of giving useless entertainments in honor of the marriage of the Comte d'Artois, conceived the idea of giving young girls in marriage. Of this number was Mlle. Lise. When she presented herself for registration she was asked the name of her lover. She replied 'that she had none, that she thought the City was to furnish *everything,*'—and the City, as it turned out, found her a husband. The face of such an innocent needed doubtless to be preserved, and this is what Houdon has done; in this physiognomy, whose agreeable features are well adapted to express the average face, there is a characteristic something introduced that it would be hard to detect in a hundred thousand others." But what drew forth the most general and marked admiration was his "Dead Thrush." The bird is represented hanging by one claw from a nail. Baron Grimm[3] tells an

[1] A beautiful marble of Louise Brongniart is in a New York collection, and while not signed by Houdon, the slight deviations from the original terra-cotta and the exquisite delicacy of the cutting, leave no doubt but that it came from the master's hand.

[2] Bachaumont's "Mémoires Secrets," April 19, 1778, Vol. XI, p. 198.

[3] "Correspondance Littéraire," Vol. XIV, p. 416.

anecdote of a child of six being taken by his father to Houdon's studio, and, on looking at the bird, asking "where it had been wounded?" The father tells him that the wound is probably concealed. "But, papa, of what is the bird made?" "Of marble, my boy." "Ah, indeed," answers the child, "are feathers made of marble?" Houdon, from this story, would certainly seem to have reached perfection in simulation.

It has often been related as an example of our artist's fecundity of talent that he exhibited on one occasion more separate works than all the other exhibiting sculptors combined. This striking fact is verified by the catalogue of the Salon of the year 1777. There were on this occasion ten exhibitors and fifty-four works shown. We are speaking now only of sculpture. Of these fifty-four subjects not less than thirty were from Houdon's hand. This is therefore more than half the entire number. A single artist exhibits more than nine others combined!

A group of four busts signed by him attracted general notice. They were those of Monsieur the King's brother, who later became Louis XVIII, his wife, and the King's two aunts, Mme. Adelaïde and Mme. Victoire.[1] A critic of the day, writing of these portrait-busts, exclaims, "One must needs be an artist himself to express in detail the skill of Houdon's chisel in imitating lace, in placing

[1] Montaiglon and Duplessis speak, p. 176, of these ladies being the sisters of Louis XVI. Dierks in his catalogue of Houdon's works puts them as sisters of Louis XV. Of course, as should be generally known, they were daughters of Louis XV and consequently aunts of Louis XVI.

DIDÉROT

the hair, in showing it unbound, in dressing it with elegance, and in representing the different orders of the Prince; in short, in rendering all the accessories with no less truthfulness than that of the souls of his models."[1]

In connection with the bust of Mme. Adelaïde, there is a note in Dierks[2] stating that "the bust of Mme. Adeleyde in the year 1785 was still unpaid for . . . that Houdon claimed payment for it and got it with some difficulty." He quotes from the French National Archives to support this statement, and also gives an extract from a letter dated January 22, 1785, addressed by Houdon to the Abbé Ruallemy, private secretary of that Princess, running as follows: "You have led me to hope, so obligingly, that you will intercede for me with Mme. Adeleyde relative to the bust of that Princess, for which the price has been owing me now nine years, that I venture to communicate to you the necessity I am under to recover the sum due me in consequence of a projected voyage.[3] If I am so fortunate as to obtain through your intervention, by the end of this month or the beginning of next, the four thousand livres, being the price agreed upon for the bust, it will save my being obliged to have recourse to the always troublesome expedient of a loan. This price is demandable; the column and pedestal which support said bust having necessitated extraordinary expenditure and the simplest bust costing 1000 écus."

[1] Délerot and Legrelle, p. 108.

[2] Houdon's "Leben und Werke," Hermann Dierks, Gotha, 1887, p. 37.

[3] This doubtless refers to his voyage to America, undertaken in the summer of that year.

Curiously enough, in our varied researches we have found on this side of the water at Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, among the Roberts Collection of MSS., a signed letter of Houdon's bearing on this very question, and showing conclusively that so late as 1789 he was still a claimant for the sum due him from royalty. Unfortunately, the superscription of this letter, showing to whom it was addressed, has been torn off, so that on this point we are still in the dark. The letter follows in full:

Sir:

I have the honor to make reply, that having gone to make the bust of Mme. Victoire, agreeably to the order rec'd from that Princess, through M. the Comte d'Altay, now some 9 or 10 years since, she persuaded Mme. Adelaïde to have hers made also; that in the same way at the solicitation of these ladies Monsieur and Madame[1] determined to confide to me the execution of their own, and that at the last sitting, having thought it appropriate to ask the Prince and Princess whether it was their desire to have the busts executed in marble, they said they so wished it. These are the orders I received from their own lips, and I am reminded that having presented myself for admittance at Monsieur's, I was asked by what authority? To which I replied that the Prince had bidden me call at that hour, and that immediately the door was opened to me.

When after several years I addressed myself to each house for payment, Mme. Adelaïde sent me word to apply to M. the Comte d'Anguilliers.

The letters and appeals on this subject addressed to M. Pierre and the Director-General[2] mention the period at which these works were exe-

[1] Afterward Louis XVIII, and wife.

[2] Director-General of Buildings.

cuted. Neither M. Pierre nor the Comte[1] has honored with their replies my various statements, which I was not led to expect, after sending the history of the matter to M. Pierre, at his own request, for presentation to the Director-General.

I am, Sir, with gratitude,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

HOUDON.

At Paris, this 29th January, 1789.

In the light of the information furnished by this letter, it is not surprising that Houdon, in arranging terms for his voyage to America, should have made the stipulation for his family that he did, in case of his death. Here he was something like 15,000 francs ($3000) out of pocket for the execution of these four busts. This was poor reward for an artist of whose exhibit at the Salon the "Secret Memoirs" under date of September 22, 1777, say, " . . . his other busts are all strikingly varied, and if I might go into details it would be seen that one is left uncertain as to the style of head in which he most excels. He represents in turn, majesty, nobility, the graces, sprightliness, severity, ingenuity, spirits, genius—all is differentiated according to sex, age, character, and the rank of the personages. . . ." An admirable and truthful summing up of Houdon's genius.

There were not wanting ideal works as well. Mythology furnished a brilliant escort to the royal family. Passing over studies

[1] Comte d'Anguilliers.

executed in terra-cotta and animals[1] in marble on which we have no special information, we find a notable bust of Diana, to be referred to directly, also a medallion of Minerva and a Naiad and Vestal, both of delicate conception. The "Diana, Huntress" bust, to which we have just alluded, was detached from a statue which Houdon was modeling, as some accounts state, for the gardens of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, while others attribute it to an order from the Empress of Russia. This question has been much discussed of late in French journals, but does not seem likely to meet with solution. In the Catalogue of the Salon of 1777, under the number 248, is written: "This Diana is to be executed in marble, and placed in the gardens of his Highness the Duke of Saxe-Gotha." This apparently never came to fruition, for the only exemplar in the Museum of Gotha is a figure in gypsum. What has come to light, however, as a result of the discussion, is the undoubted fact that of this celebrated Diana, "the most illustrious example of the nude feminine in French statuary," as Louis Gonze appreciates it, there have been two distinct productions. Accustomed as we are to the liberal ideas of Frenchmen where matters of art are concerned, it certainly seemed surprising to find that the very beautiful statue of Diana, as we know it from the bronze of the Louvre and the casts that have been made from it, should have been forbidden exhibition by the Commissioners of the Louvre at two Salons: those

[1] Life-size greyhound in terra-cotta, in a private collection in Paris. *Vide* "Un Lévrier. Terre-cuite originale de Houdon. Par Georges Giacometti. Paris, 1904."

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of 1777 and 1781. Now that we have seen a reproduction of the marble at St. Petersburg, published in "Les Arts" for January, 1907, it is easy to understand the scruples which might have influenced even a very liberal-minded jury. As the writer in "Les Arts" puts it, "The marble at St. Petersburg enters into naturalistic detail, and is objectionable on this account." It was of this same marble that La Harpe in his "Compendium Littéraire" wrote: "It is too lovely and too nude for a statue intended for public exhibition."

The bronze of the Museum at Tours, cast in 1839, is said to be from the same original model; in fact, it bears the signature of Houdon and the date 1776, showing that these had been preserved in the plaster. This is undoubtedly the model shown at Houdon's studio in 1777, failing the right of exhibition at the Salon of the same year. The second exemplar, of bronze, made for Girardot de Marigny, is dated 1782, and is similar to the one at the Louvre, which is dated 1790. The Marigny bronze is noted in the Catalogue of the Salon of 1783 as being on exhibition at the house of the Marquis. Leaving out the original plaster, there were then two unexpurgated statues—one of marble and one of bronze—while in the amended form two bronzes exist: the one at the Louvre, of 1790, and the Marigny statue, which at one time was at "Bagatelle," having been acquired by Lord Hertford in 1870.[1] Placed in the gardens of "Bagatelle" by the latter, it was sold by Mr. Scott, who

[1] See Montaiglon: "Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français," 1879, p. 271. Lady Dilke states the price said to have been paid by Lord Hertford as 23,500 francs, and the date May 20, 1870.

inherited the place, with its contents, at the same time that the celebrated Wallace collection was transferred to England. It could have been seen in Paris in 1902, at Duveen's, who disposed of it to Charles T. Yerkes, of New York, for $70,000; and at the sale of the Yerkes collection in April, 1910, it was sold for $51,000, when it was repurchased by Duveen and returned to Europe. In the marble statue, Diana carries a quiver of arrows under the left arm and her bow in the left hand; but in the bronze of the Louvre, as also the one at Tours and the plaster model at Gotha, a single arrow is held in the right hand and the bow carried in the left, while no quiver of arrows is introduced. We much prefer the last composition; it is more in keeping with the nudity of a "Diana, Huntress"; as if she had sprung to her feet in some sudden alarm, and not, as the quiver thrown over the shoulder suggests, as having formally prepared herself for a hunting excursion. The arrow in the right hand seems to balance the figure, so lightly poised on one foot, and gives an effect of lightness and grace, which the artist doubtless intended to convey by the use of the arrow, an emblem itself of the very quality he desired to express. The marble statue at the Hermitage differs also in another detail: in order to support the figure of Diana, made necessary by its execution in marble, Houdon has introduced a thicket of reeds on which the goddess lightly rests her weight, while she appears to be brushing the obstacle from her path. "It was much feared that in executing the plaster of this graceful conception in marble, Houdon might by the

difficulties of execution be obliged to curtail a portion of its lightness to insure its solidity. But he conceived a means of support which in no way detracted from its primitive form."

We agree, however, with the judgment of others "that the Diana of the Louvre is much lighter standing in empty space than among the reeds, which must retard her flight." But the material itself apparently lent much effect, being of "dazzling whiteness, which can only be compared," continue the "Secret Memoirs," "to the exceeding purity of the Goddess herself."

One of the most modern of critics on French art, W. C. Brownell, in his "Classic and Contemporary Painting and Sculpture" (p. 153), says of the Diana:

"Houdon is one of the finest examples of the union of vigor with grace. He will be known chiefly as a portraitist, but such a masterpiece as his Diana shows how admirable he was in the sphere of purely imaginative theme and treatment. Classic, and even conventionally classic, as it is, both in subject and in the way the subject is handled, it is designed and modelled with as much personal freedom and feeling as if Houdon had been stimulated by the ambition of novel accomplishment, instead of that of rendering with truth and grace a time-honored and traditional sculptural motive. Its treatment is beautifully educated and its effect refined, chaste, and elevated in an extraordinary degree."

Various theories have been advanced as to the reason of Houdon's deviation from conventional rules in representing a nude

Diana. Délerot and Legrelle are quite positive that it was intended as a reproof to Allegrain, whose Diana at the Bath had just appeared[1] and had met with considerable success at the Salon; also as a protest against the morbidity of style so prevalent at this period. To quote them:

"But drapery would have rendered abortive any comparison. What it was tacitly desired to point out in Allegrain, by its absence in the new Diana, were those heavy forms bordering on what has since come to be known as morbidity, and only attaining, after mistaken effort, a heaviness of outline without any mark of distinction. . . . It was necessary to oppose a light and airy design, a thing unknown since the Renaissance."

This is ingenious and very well expressed and seems fairly probable. An entirely different view, however, is taken by Paul Vitry, writing in "Les Arts" for 1907:

"After all, it was probably audacity and fancy without much reflection that urged on the clever artist, little equipped as he was with a knowledge of mythology, to this conception of a Diana, unclothed, as a huntress, and we certainly concede to him to-day without vain argument the right to satisfy his desire for plastic and animated beauty, even at the expense of literary truth."

The charge here made against Houdon as lacking any knowledge of mythology hardly seems borne out, as witness some of his earlier productions. The first piano by Sebastian Érard, placed in

[1] Salon of 1777.

the Château Bellevue belonging to the aunts of Louis XVI, and decorated by Boucher, Greuze and Vanloo, is said to have also "had the pedals covered with a group from mythology executed by Houdon."[1]

This statue added greatly to Houdon's reputation. "No other creation of Houdon's received such unqualified praise from contemporaries as this one, and no other speaks to us so freely of the spirit of the time. Poems were addressed to it."[2]

In the Grimm-Diderot Correspondance (1879), Vol. II, page 529, under date of September, 1777, we read:

"M. Houdon's modesty has induced him to make every effort for preventing the verses addressed to him from all sides appearing in print. Here are some lines written by M. de Rulhière on the spur of the moment, after having admired his Diana:

" 'Oui, c'est Diane, et mon œil enchanté
Désire dans sa course atteindre la déesse,
Et mes regards devancent sa vitesse.
Aucun habillement ne voile sa beauté,
Mais son effroi lui rend sa chasteté.
On aurait dans Éphèse adoré ton ouvrage,
Rival de Phidias, ingénieux Houdon,
À moins que les dévots, en voyant ton image,
N'eussent craint le sort d'Actéon.' "

An oft-quoted letter of Louis de Boissy, praising the statue, ap-

[1] "Autour de la Statue de Jean Houdon," by Albert Terrade, Versailles, 1892, p. 15.
[2] Dr. Hermann Dierks, Houdon's "Leben und Werke," p. 46.

peared in the "Journal de Paris" of April 14, 1778, page 415, and Houdon's answer was published in the same journal on the 16th of April. Boissy, in the course of his letter, had extolled the Diana as "the sister of Apollo—that divine Apollo of the Vatican, the only figure on earth giving us the idea of a God." To which Houdon, after thanking him for the flattering things said of him, very modestly goes on to say, "As to my Diana: although it has been the work entailing on me the greatest labor, I cannot agree with the parallel you draw. As you know the Apollo of the Vatican, and judging from signs you are an amateur of sculpture, you will agree that my piece does not approach it. What I say is not through modesty; but, with very slight reservation, I found that figure perfect, and you know that in the arts what is called perfect is simply what approaches perfection. My Diana is not in this class; I feel it, in spite of what the artists and my confrères have said in its praise, and in spite of their praise having made me alive to certain faults, which augurs well, for an author is usually indiscriminately praised when a work is found bad throughout."

We see that success had not turned Houdon's head; modesty has always been claimed as his distinct attribute, and thus far nothing would seem to contradict so flattering a judgment. These seven or eight years in Houdon's career which we have endeavored to depict have brought him almost to the summit of his art; the next three will see this actually accomplished. So that within ten years of his return to Paris and entrance there into the competitive field of art,

DIANA

he triumphed over all difficulties and became the acknowledged and unrivaled sculptor of his time. Not only that, he accomplished more, for he comes down to us in history as being certainly the greatest French sculptor of the eighteenth century, and perhaps of all time.

CHAPTER III

1778

VOLTAIRE—HIS BUSTS AND HIS STATUE IN THE COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE—THE BUST CROWNED AT THE SIXTH REPRESENTATION OF "IRÈNE" SHOWN TO HAVE BEEN BY HOUDON

"WHEN, in the full maturity of his talent, Houdon modeled the image of Voltaire, he was already the author of numerous works celebrated at once on their appearance; none, however, so much as this one. Even if not the most perfect masterpiece of the sculptor, it will nevertheless remain his most typical work. The immense popularity of the author of 'Candide,' added to the notoriety gained through Houdon's rare merit, henceforth indissolubly bound up the name of the artist with that of his model. In consequence, long after, perhaps always, and in spite of the fine Saint Bruno, the (female) Bather, the Écorché, and the Diana, Houdon will be designated almost exclusively as the author of the statue of Voltaire."[1]

These words so aptly sum up the fame gained by Houdon through this wonderful monument that we have quoted them at the very opening of our chapter.

[1] P. E. Mangeant, "Sur une Statuette de Voltaire," 1896.

There is much to be told, however, before we come to the statue. Voltaire, after an exile from Paris of about twenty-seven years, having settled himself in Berlin so early as 1750, returned, when a very old man (eighty-four), on the 10th of February, 1778. There is an amusing account given of the arrival of Voltaire and his party. "Our voyagers drew up in front of the city gates toward half-past three in the afternoon on the 10th of February. . . . At the barrier the clerks asked if we carried anything against the order of the King? 'By my faith, gentlemen,' replied Voltaire, 'I believe there is nothing contraband here but myself.' "[1] This was an allusion to the attitude of French royalty toward himself, for, while no actual decree had been entered against him, Louis XV in granting him leave to enter the service of the King of Prussia had determined not to allow him to return to Paris during his own lifetime. What the grandson's attitude might be was still problematical. Having got to Paris, he established himself in the house of M. de Villette, who had married a former member of his household, so well known in the annals of Voltaire as "belle et bonne." It was doubtless owing to the exertions of the Marquis de Villevieille that Houdon almost immediately obtained the favor of sittings. The Marquis has left on record a most dramatic account of one of these—the last one—at which he was present.

"With much trouble I induced M. Voltaire to lend himself to the wish that Houdon had so often expressed to me to make a statue of

[1] "Voltaire et la Société du 18ième Siècle," Desnoiresterres, Vol. VIII, p. 192.

him. At last his consent was torn from him, the day fixed, and the periods for the sittings arranged. I was to accompany him whenever he visited the studio. I submitted without difficulty, as you may suppose. The artist having frequently observed that the features of his model only betrayed his impatience, that constraint and fatigue clouded his brow, and that the fire of genius died from his eyes, I planned to bring to the last sitting granted by M. de Voltaire the wreath which the actor Brizard had placed on his head, before the acclaiming throng, the day of his triumph at the Comédie-Française,—a wreath which I still possess. I notified M. Houdon that at a given signal between us I should start forward to the platform where M. de Voltaire was placed, and would lay the wreath upon his head. 'Without doubt,' I said to him, 'this will light up his countenance and you can then, seizing the passing flash, inject the life, soul and truthfulness which should animate the face,' and which, in effect, speak to us from the masterpiece. I carried out with much good fortune what I had planned; but I had hardly placed the wreath on the venerable head when, with the grace that never deserted him, he waved me from him. 'What are you doing, young man?' spoke the illustrious one. 'Place it on my tomb, which opens before me.' (He suffered already from severe pains.) He rises immediately, and turning toward the artist: 'Adieu, Phidias'; then, seizing my arm, 'My friend, let us go die.' 'Oh, my master,' I cried, 'let me kiss the hand once more that wrote "Zaïre."' Then his tears flowed and mixed with mine, his pains became in-

tolerable, he returned to the house, and a few days later he was no more."[1]

The first step toward this *chef d'œuvre,* produced by Houdon as a result of these life sittings, was his bust at the Comédie-Française, known as the one "with wig" (*avec pérruque*). This he first executed in plaster, and it was this bust which at the sixth representation of "Irène," on the 30th of March, 1778, was brought upon the stage to be crowned and garlanded by the actors in the presence of Voltaire, who was in a box with his niece and Mme. de Villette. At the Salon of the following year, 1779, Houdon exhibited the marble which is now preserved in the foyer of the Comédie and stands on a pedestal immediately beside the seated statue. Baron Grimm writes:

" . . . Of all the thousand portraits made of M. de Voltaire in the past sixty years, it is the only one with which he himself has been perfectly content. . . . The eyes are full of life by an effect of light so ingeniously managed that M. Greuze himself on seeing the bust for the first time imagined that they were eyes of enamel or of some other colored matter. We were witnesses with several others of an error so flattering to the talent of his confrère."[2]

Houdon also finished a bust of Voltaire *à l'antique,* which he exhibited at this same time and which was highly praised. It is practically the same head represented in the seated statue, except-

[1] "Account of the Inauguration of a Statue to Voltaire at Montpellier," by P. E. Martin-Choisi, Year IX.

[2] Grimm-Diderot Correspondance, Vol. XII (1880), p. 104.

ing that in the latter there is more hair apparent, and a cincture is bound about his locks, giving a classic effect without in the least detracting from the natural and life-like expression of the face.

Catharine of Russia again showed her appreciation of our artist's talent by immediately acquiring this bust for her own collection.[1] She continuously evinced her interest in his genius, for we shall find later on that an obstacle in the way of Houdon's visit to the United States, in 1785, for the purpose of modeling the statue of Washington, lay in his engagements to Catharine.

It was at this Salon of 1779 that Houdon foreshadowed his later masterpiece of the seated figure by exhibiting a statuette of Voltaire in gilded bronze, also intended for the private collection of the Russian Empress. The "Secret Memoirs" (Vol. XIII, page 245), in its "Letters on the Salon of 1779," have this to say of it:

"Here we truly have the old man of Ferney; he is enveloped in the folds of his wrapper; he is seated in his elbow-chair, the hands resting on its arms;[2] he has come in from his walk, he is fatigued

[1] Louis Gonze states that from the Salon books and Sale Catalogue, Houdon must have made at least six marble busts of Voltaire: first, the three admirable busts, costumed with wig, of the Comédie-Française, Versailles, and the Ministry of the Interior, the last escaping the sack of the Palais Royal; then the bust draped *à l'antique,* executed for Catharine of Russia, the model of which is in the Museum at Gotha; a bust on a variegated pedestal (Sale of 1795); and finally, at the Sale of 1828, a bust in white marble, bare-headed, on a bracket of dark blue marble, perhaps the one in the Angers Museum, he thinks. According to Gonze's view, the one at Versailles is the finest, and he thinks it probable that this is the one formerly belonging to the Academy. "Chefs d'Œuvres des Musées de France."

[2] According to Louis Gonze ("Chef d'Œuvres des Musées de France"), in the Museum of Angers is a cast from nature by Houdon of the thin long hands of Voltaire,

and ready to retire. This is the familiar scene the sculptor has chosen; but in spite of the body's lassitude, his virile spirit and the sardonic laughter of his face mark the flow of ridicule running through his final meditations. He is immensely amused over the fools, the priests, the fanatics, whom he intends holding up again to general ridicule. It must be confessed that in this little figure, of less than a foot in height, there is more genius than in those ordered by the court, the one of Corneille[1] excepted."

This statuette for a long time could be seen at the Hermitage, in St. Petersburg. There is a note in P. E. Mangeant's monograph already quoted, stating that "in 1851 the administration of the Hermitage, knowing how little sympathy the Emperor Nicholas I entertained for Voltaire, and having no appreciation of the artistic merit of the statuette, disposed of it at the same time with some other works of art which seemed to them to have little value. The statuette was purchased at this period by the Count André Paolóvitch Shouwalow, maréchal de la noblesse de Saint Petersburg, as related by himself in 1876, for fifteen roubles, about fifty francs."

At the crowning of the emperor Alexander in 1856, the Duc de Morny, being at St. Petersburg as envoy extraordinary and getting a view of this beautiful statuette at Count Shouwalow's, begged

and said by one who has seen them to have "the expression and the drawing of the admirable hands that the artist made to his statue at the Comédie-Française." Upon the cast is the inscription, "h. 31 May, 1778." This was the day immediately following the day of Voltaire's death.

[1] "Corneille seated," by Caffieri.

him to sell it to him for 50,000 francs, but the Count would not consent. We read in a record of Voltaire's career that in 1757, being encouraged to write a history of Russia, "Count Jean Shouwalow furnished him with data." So the later descendant seems to have inherited his ancestor's admiration for Voltaire.

While on the subject of the busts, it will be well to ask the attention of our readers to a controversy that has agitated writers during the last thirty years, as to the identity of the bust figuring, at the Théâtre-Français, on the night of Voltaire's appearing there at the sixth representation of "Irène," on the 30th of March, 1778. Until the appearance of J. J. Guiffrey's book, "Les Caffieris," published at Paris in 1877, it had always been accepted that the bust brought forward upon the stage in honor of the author and crowned and garlanded by the actors in his presence, was, as already stated, the plaster bust modeled by Houdon from the sittings given him by Voltaire immediately on his arrival in Paris from Ferney.

M. Guiffrey, however, asserted that, from evidence he had discovered, the bust used on that occasion was one by Jean Jacques Caffieri, a clever sculptor, but a most cantankerous character, whose chief aim in life, after Houdon's fame was assured and recognized, seemed an effort—most vain indeed—to detract from his great reputation. Guiffrey here fell into an astounding error; for, basing his assertion on a letter of acceptance from the Comédie-Française, addressed to Caffieri, he entirely overlooked the fact that this letter was in answer to a note from Caffieri asking the Comédie's accept-

ance of a bust of Voltaire by *Le Moyne*. We cannot do better than quote Caffieri's letter, preserved among the archives of the Comédie-Française and dated Paris, 16th February, 1778.

"Since the arrival of M. de Voltaire, I have heard it argued among several people of distinction in your own foyer that Messieurs the Comedians should have the portrait of M. de Voltaire placed there, and that such homage should be rendered his great talents; it is with the same idea that I make you an offer, gentlemen, of a bust in plaster made by M. Le Moyne. This portrait was made at the period when M. de Voltaire produced his noblest works. Although the Comédie has made a rule not to admit the portraits of living authors, M. de Voltaire would seem to be the exception.

"If the offer, gentlemen, that I have the honor to make you is agreeable, I shall have the bust placed whenever it may please you. I shall have no greater merit than to provide for you and for the public the pleasure of seeing the portrait of a great man to whom all Europe pays homage."[1]

This makes it very clear by whom this particular bust that Caffieri was offering had been executed. We now give the letter of the Comédie in answer to the above, the one upon which Guiffrey, without looking up further proof, assumes, quite positively, that the Comédie were accepting a bust *by Caffieri.*

[1] "Archives of Comédie-Française." Dossier de Caffieri.

Sir:

The Comédie recognizes in the offer you make it both the sincerity and love of genius that stamp your own works of great men; it thanks you for the present you are willing to make it, and accepts it with a gratitude proportioned to its love and admiration for the immortal character whom the bust represents. It is sensible, however, of the danger it would run in placing any other but a Voltaire in the foyer during his actual lifetime in company with a Corneille and a Racine. It will proceed to pass a resolution which shall attest the merited exception in the case of M. de Voltaire, and the reasons which induce the Comédie to break in his favor its rule of only admitting the dead.

The great age of M. de Voltaire is an excuse; the impatience to immortalize him does not reflect on his long life; but thanks to it he gets cash payment for what Molière and Corneille hastened too much to obtain by premature deaths.

DES ESSARTS.

16th March, 1778.

Upon this state of things Guiffrey constructed an hypothesis: first, that Caffieri had made a bust of Voltaire and presented it to the Comédie; second, that this bust was in the foyer when the performance of "Irène" on the 30th of March took place; third, that this was the bust carried upon the stage and crowned and garlanded in the presence of Voltaire.

As to the first contention, we have shown by Caffieri's own words that he did not offer a bust of his own, but one by *Le Moyne*. As to the second, it is not at all clear that this bust found its way immediately to the foyer of the Comédie, for the latter's answer to Caffieri speaks of a resolution it "is about to pass," looking to

the reception of the bust in the future. Third, we are able to show positively that Houdon's bust was the one brought upon the stage at the sixth representation of "Irène."

An examination of the catalogue of the works of art belonging to the Comédie-Française and their history, published in 1897, disclosed the fact that, while quoting M. Guiffrey's book with approval, no reference was made to the very palpable error in it of attributing the Le Moyne bust of Voltaire to Caffieri. We include a letter which was addressed to the Comédie and the reply.

To M. Jules Claretie,
Director of the Théâtre-Français.

Sir:

In reading recently your Introduction to the "Collections of the Comédie-Française" by M. Monval, I find on page 5: "Caffieri sends to the Comedians the Voltaire of his master, J. B. Le Moyne."

I am collaborating on a Life of Houdon in English, and sought for information in the "Collections de la Comédie-Française." Allow me, Sir, to ask the source of this citation.

Neither the "Mémoires" of Houdon by Montaiglon and Duplessis, nor those by Délerot and Legrelle, nor the exhaustive work by J. J. Guiffrey, "Les Caffieris," contain such a reference; the last named, on the contrary, champions the theory that the bust of Voltaire crowned at the sixth representation of "Irène" was a bust by *Caffieri,* not by Le Moyne. The letter from Caffieri which J. J. Guiffrey quotes in full on pages 355–356 speaks of a bust of *J. J. Rousseau* by Le Moyne.

I am endeavoring to be exact and accurate, and I venture to hope, Sir, that you will find time to send me a few lines on the question submitted.

I beg you to accept, Sir, the expression of my highest consideration and good wishes from across the water.

E. Biddle.

1680–1906
COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE

PARIS, 25 Xbre [1906].

Sir:

In reply to the letter that you addressed to the Administrator, here is the information you ask for.

The "Mercure de France" of April, 1778, Vol. I, p. 169, says on the subject of Voltaire's arrival in Paris:

"The Comédie-Française, so rich in the fruits of his labors, has done homage to him. His bust in marble, a work of M. le Moine's and a gift from M. Caffieri, both celebrated sculptors, has been placed in the foyer of the Comédie."

It is this bust which, on Monday, the 30th of March, 1778, at the sixth representation of "Irène," was carried on the stage and crowned and garlanded, after Mme. Vestris had recited the verses composed by the Marquis of Saint-Marc.

The letter in which Caffieri offered this bust to the Comedians, on 16th February, 1778, informs us that this bust was not in marble, but in plaster: "I offer you," he says, "gentlemen, a bust in plaster made by M. Le Moyne; the portrait was made in the time when M. de Voltaire was producing his greatest works."

This bust has disappeared, and it is very probable that it was broken, which would not have happened if it had been of marble, as stated in the "Mercure."

Please accept, Sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

C. OUIS.

MR. EDWARD BIDDLE.

Having thus disposed of the Guiffrey-*Caffieri* legend, we are left to combat the very positive assertion over the hand of the Comédie, that "it is this bust [Le Moyne's] which, on Monday, the 30th of

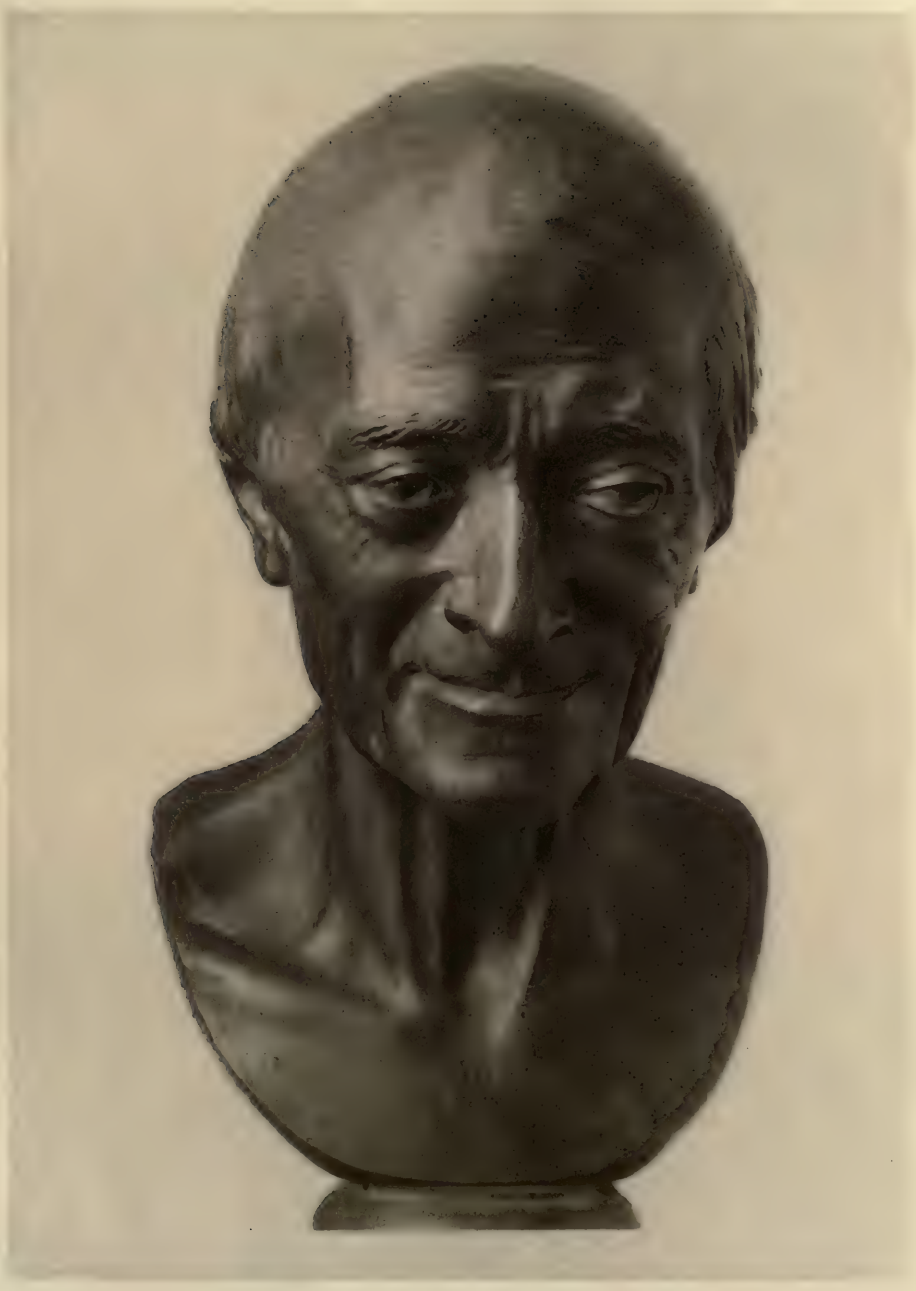
March, 1778, at the sixth representation of 'Irène,' was carried on the stage and crowned and garlanded"; and this we are able to do successfully.

The chief reliance of the opponents to Houdon's bust is the shortness of time elapsing between Voltaire's arrival in Paris, on the 10th of February, 1778, and the sixth representation of "Irène" on the 30th of March. We reply to this that it is an uncontradicted fact that Voltaire sat to Houdon very soon after reaching Paris. If merely circumstantial evidence were needed, we think that the offer of Le Moyne's bust to the Comédie, on the 16th of February, by Caffieri, is strong presumption that the latter had got wind of the sittings and was, as usual, endeavoring to head off Houdon. Guiffrey himself suggests such a reason in the case of Rousseau's bust, under precisely similar circumstances; but, to any one familiar with Houdon's untiring industry and skill as shown in the history of his career, nothing is easier to suppose than that in a period of time such as the one in question, something over six weeks, and with sittings given him, Houdon could have completed his plaster bust. This celerity of execution would be nothing in comparison with his accomplishment at Mount Vernon, when he modeled the bust of Washington and cast it within two weeks.

But we do not have to suppose anything about it; for, against the multitude of suppositions raised by the opponents to this view, in trying to show that it was a physical impossibility for Houdon to have completed his bust in so short a time, we have the positive

statements of the day that he did complete such a bust. The "Secret Memoirs," under date of April 19, 1778, say: "There has been on view for some time in M. Houdon's studio a bust of Molière executed for the foyer of the Comédie-Française. It is very fine . . . and the same artist has just executed a *bust of Voltaire.*" While three days earlier the "Correspondance Secrete"[1] for April 16, 1778, says: "All Paris is going to see, at M. Houdon's, a bust of Voltaire, which, without fear of contradiction, is more strikingly like him than all other portraits ever made of this patriarch." But here is yet stronger proof. On the *4th of April* the French Academy decide to have a portrait painted from Houdon's bust as a companion to the painting by Largillière of Voltaire in his youth. Desnoiresterres,[2] in speaking of this, prefaces it by saying, "The bust of Voltaire, which is dated as of 1778, was finished during *the last days* of March." Guiffrey endeavors to combat the records of the "Mémoires Secrets" by saying that it was quite out of the question to suppose that, even admitting the bust to have been finished before the 30th of March, it could have been taken to the Comédie and returned to Houdon's studio afterward. We fail to see why; but, granting it for the sake of argument, what was to prevent Houdon having a second cast on view at his studio? We see in this reasoning of Guiffrey evidence that he is arguing from the standpoint of a finished *marble* bust, and this is where he is again in error. But when we get to the 4th of April, five days only after the

[1] Vol. VI, p. 164. [2] "Iconographie Voltairienne," p. 113.



VOLTAIRE Á L'ANTIQUE

memorable sixth performance of "Irène," and find the French Academy ordering a portrait from the Houdon bust, the inference is irresistible that such a bust had been in existence on the 30th of March.

To go back for a moment to Guiffrey, in arguing for *Caffieri's* supposed bust, he says (page 276): "This bust was certainly modeled then between the 10th of February and the 15th of March. This rapidity of execution has nothing in it to surprise one in a man of *Caffieri's* skill"; and on pages 285 and 286, in a comparison of the two artists, "he [Caffieri] was neglected for a younger competitor [Houdon], also more productive *and, it must be said, more skilful.*"

We find, therefore, Guiffrey arguing for Caffieri from premises infinitely stronger when applied to Houdon.

The only existing record of Le Moyne's bust is an engraving by Augustin de St. Aubin. The bust was made in 1748, and it would seem inconceivable that a likeness made thirty years before should be the one selected for an occasion such as the sixth representation of "Irène," the author being present, and his bust by the most eminent sculptor of the day, just finished and of wonderful truthfulness, being, as far as we can see, available. As to the expression used by Caffieri, in his letter offering Le Moyne's bust, "this portrait was made at the time when M. Voltaire was producing his noblest works," presenting any reason for the selection of that bust in preference to Houdon's, we can reply that "Irène," the play at

which so much enthusiasm was evoked, was the play of Voltaire's old age.[1]

The date at which the *marble* bust of Voltaire was placed in the foyer of the Comédie, February 18, 1779, has also been advanced by some of the later writers as a reason why the bust crowned and garlanded could not have been the bust by Houdon. But we maintain that it is not a question of a finished marble bust, done later, but of the one made first in plaster.

We have had access to another book upon the Musée of the Comédie-Française, by M. Émile Dacier, published so recently as the year 1905. Relating to the question we have just been discussing, the writer says: "In 1777 . . . Caffieri sends a bust in marble of Pierre Corneille, . . . *in 1778 he gives a Voltaire, to-day missing,*" and in a note to this adds, *"a plaster cast of the Voltaire by Caffieri* (*and not by Le Moyne, as M. Monval has written*) was used at the crowning of the 30th of March, 1778, at the sixth representation of 'Irène.' See Guiffrey, 'Les Caffieris.' "[2]

Here we have the old error reiterated, and we are astounded at such heedless inaccuracy. As this book also contains a preface by

[1] Begun in 1776; finished in 1777. Beuchot, "Life of Voltaire."

[2] M. Stanislas Lami, the author of a dictionary of French sculptors of the eighteenth century, appearing at the present time, and widely heralded, under "Caffieri" gives a list of the latter's works; among them, "Voltaire: bust executed for the Comédie-Française between the 10th of February and the 15th of March, 1778. It is this bust which figured in the ceremony of the crowning of Voltaire, following the sixth representation of 'Irène,' on the 30th of March, 1778. It is not known what has become of it." He adds in a foot-note, "M. Jules Guiffrey has established this fact in a positive way in his fine work on the Caffieris, p. 276 and following."

COURONNEMENT DE VOLTAIRE

SUR LE THÉÂTRE-FRANÇAIS, LE 30 MARS, 1778, APRÈS LA SIXIÈME REPRÉSENTATION D'IRÈNE

Center of print engraved by C. E. Gaucher after drawing by J. M. Moreau.

M. Jules Claretie, it would seem as if the Comédie had put the stamp of its approval upon it. However, we can resolve all doubts upon the subject and vindicate our position as against any other bust having been used than that of Houdon, by producing the engraving by Gaucher of the drawing of the scene, made by J. N. Moreau, the younger.[1] Can any one for a moment mistake the bust in the foreground? Besides, we have the contemporaneous evidence of the "Mémoires Secrets" that this picture is virtually a photograph of the event just as it transpired. Bachaumont[2] says, "M. Moreau, Jr., has composed a picture representing the crowning of Voltaire at the Comédie-Française ('Couronnement de Voltaire sur le Théâtre-Français, dessin au bistre'). It has been engraved by Charles Étienne Gaucher. *The scene is represented just as it was enacted in the theatre.*" We think the merest tyro in art will recognize the Houdon bust,—the drapery, the wig, the aged look of the face, all combine to prove its identity. While, as we have said, the episode, decided either way, would have weighed little in the balance with Houdon's great name and fame, we are nevertheless much gratified at having been able to bury this mare's-nest effectually for all time.

M. Guiffrey, were he still living, would join with us, we think, in admitting that once again, without any effort on the part of Hou-

[1] Exposed at the Salon de la Correspondance in 1783. *Vide* Desnoiresterres, "Iconographie Voltairienne," p. 96.

[2] "Mémoires Secrets" for May 8, 1778, Vol. XI, p. 256.

don, the attempt to supplant him—this time, however, not by Caffieri himself but by his biographer—has proved abortive.

We now turn our attention to the statue, probably as celebrated a piece of statuary as exists anywhere, and certainly more widely known than any other work by Houdon.

"It would be impossible to recall all the honors paid this statue since its first appearance. On the day when Voltaire's ashes were transferred to the Pantheon, July 11, 1791, Houdon's likeness of him played a prominent part in the ceremony, and it is perfectly true to say that the day consecrated to the fame of Voltaire was also consecrated to the genius of Houdon. A copy of the statue in gilded card-board[1] was carried in triumphal procession all over Paris. It was crowned with flowers and covered with laurel. The statue was reproduced on every hand, even being embroidered on the ribbons worn by young girls in the procession. The sight of such a faithful likeness of the philosopher, due to Houdon, was certainly not without its influence in arousing the deep enthusiasm manifested throughout the day."[2]

Voltaire had for a long period of time obstinately refused to sit for any statue intended for public exhibition. The first sculptor who succeeded in winning over the distinguished recluse to pose for him in his asylum at Ferney was a very obscure and mediocre

[1] Catalogued at Houdon's sale of 1828, but since lost sight of. "Sur une Statuette de Voltaire," P. E. Mangeant, 1896.

[2] Note in Délerot and Legrelle, pp. 162 and 163.

artist. He came from Franche-Comté, and called himself Rosset-Dupont.[1] It seems that it was the good humor of this provincial sculptor that influenced Voltaire to break his avowed purpose. He appeared pleased, too, with his bust, it being full of life, according to contemporary evidence. The memory of it is all that has been handed down. The meed of praise for this unknown work would seem to be justified solely by the fact that Voltaire's prejudice had been overcome through it, and that it had opened the way for future yieldings of the same sort.

It came about in 1770 that Mme. Necker conceived the idea of starting a subscription for a statue to Voltaire. It was broached at a dinner-party given by the Neckers, and seventeen subscribers were at once secured; the names of Diderot, Baron Grimm, Marmontel, d'Alembert, Helvetius and the Abbé Reynal being on the list. It was to be an expression of admiration on the part of literary Europe. Voltaire himself, it is known, helped the project as much as possible while apparently refusing. "I have n't the sort of face for a statue," he would say. "They want to model my face, but for this I should possess a face; they will hardly be able to divine its position. My eyes are sunken to a depth of three inches, my cheeks are like so much old parchment badly glued on some old bones supported by nothing! The few teeth I ever had are gone," etc., etc. Enthusiasm, however, in spite of these objections, which were

[1] Desnoiresterres, in his "Iconographie Voltairienne," pp. 86 and 87, gives a somewhat different description of the man.

readily combated, became general and found expression through numerous subscriptions.[1] As to the choice of an artist for transmitting to posterity the features of the Patriarch of Ferney, there was no hesitation. Jean Baptiste Pigalle, in 1770, ranked as the first sculptor of the day. Public approval pointed to him with universal voice. Pigalle very naturally felt much pride in being chosen. "If I succeed, I shall deem myself the most fortunate of artists," were his words. The price to be paid Pigalle was left entirely with himself to fix. He wished to show his appreciation of such generous treatment by the modesty of his pretensions; he estimated his fees at 10,000 francs, not including his traveling expenses and the cost of the marble. So, in the first days of June, armed with a letter from d'Alembert, he left for Ferney.

Voltaire received him very well and praised his talent. He complained, however, that he was being slandered by him. "M. Pigalle," was his expression, "goes about saying that I am as fat as a monk. The fact is, I forced myself to be gay in his presence, and puffed out my cheeks in order to please him." Pigalle, on leaving Ferney, carried with him the model of the head, which had cost him infinite labor. Voltaire was a most restless sitter at this time, constantly changing his position, and most of the time engaged in dictating to his private secretary. Pigalle was in despair, until one day the conversation happened to turn on Aaron's "golden calf,"

[1] The total subscription reached 18,775 francs. Statement of May 10, 1776. Note in Desnoiresterres, "Iconographie Voltairienne."

and the length of time such a statue would take in the making. On Pigalle's rejoinder that he would want six months, at least, for such a labor, the answer, as contradicting the accepted version, gave so much pleasure to Voltaire that he became quite pliant and docile, permitting Pigalle finally to complete a satisfactory model. The story goes that the latter, fearing some unforeseen interference with what he had accomplished, left surreptitiously in the night-time, without tarrying any longer. It now became a question of how the figure should be posed, and as to the dress. Pigalle had no hesitation in deciding to represent Voltaire nude and seated. To quote Desnoiresterres: "If Pigalle had any hesitation, it was as to the choice of material: marble or bronze. As for the rest, he had the faith of an apostle."

Some thought that Diderot's influence had determined Pigalle; Baron Grimm, however, contended that the sculptor was ignorant in the art of simulating drapery, and that he represented Voltaire nude for fear of doing the other badly.

In the early part of September, 1770, the public was admitted to view in Pigalle's studio a sketch of the entire figure of Voltaire, holding a roll of parchment in one hand and a pen, or rather a stylus, in the other. The silence of the least exacting visitors, and the disapprobation expressed by other amateurs more critical, warned Pigalle that he was on the wrong tack. He did not change his mind, however, and sought merely to do better with his living skeleton by trying another attitude, which in no way carried with it

any change in his original plan. The statue, which had failed of any modification, was executed after this last model. Mme. Necker, alarmed, had written Voltaire, begging him to prevent Pigalle from carrying out his first idea; but Voltaire was of the opinion that "M. Pigalle must be left the absolute master of the statue." "It is a crime," Voltaire goes on to say, "in the fine arts to put obstacles in the way of genius. It is not without meaning that the latter is represented with wings; for it must take its flight as it wills and where it wills. . . . I have never succeeded in the arts that I have cultivated myself unless when listening to my own voice."

However, it was not without intention that he addressed the following well-known verses to Pigalle:

Cher Phidias, votre statue
Me fait mille fois trop d'honneur.
Mais, quand votre main s'évertue
A sculpter votre serviteur,
Vous agacez l'esprit railleur
De certain peuple rimailleur,
Qui depuis si longtemps me hue—
Que ferez-vous d'un pauvre auteur
Dont la taille et le cou de grue,
Et la mine très peu joufflue
Feront rire les connaisseurs?
Sculptez-nous quelque beauté nue. . . .

In spite of all these hints, both in verse and prose, Pigalle stuck doggedly to his purpose; he had an old soldier brought to his studio from whom he modeled with a frightful accuracy of detail, and

the statue, finished by these means, was exhibited two years later, toward the beginning of August, 1772. At once epigrams began to be showered upon the philosopher as well as the sculptor. The King of Sweden, then in Paris, announced that he would gladly subscribe "for a cloak"! Another suggested "that while it was well to have a statue of Voltaire, it was not necessary that posterity should be able to count his ribs"! The poets were most prolific, and many verses were penned. Stress has been laid purposely on this unfortunate statue by Pigalle[1] in order to give its history, and to show how through its failure the task finally fell to Houdon, giving him the opportunity to produce his immortal work.

The last months of Voltaire's life are recorded in history; the admiration, the enthusiasm, with which he was surrounded, and the whole of his incessant and prodigious triumph; as great, probably, as any man has ever enjoyed. Houdon connected himself with all this resounding praise by preserving for contemporaries and to future generations the last likeness of this great man, and one indeed worthy of him. Before the death of Voltaire, M. d'Angevilliers had already succeeded in having it granted that among the statues to be executed by the Academy of Sculpture, after those last ordered, should be included a statue of Voltaire. But, Voltaire dead, what had been yielded M. d'Angevilliers out of personal re-

[1] Its fate is known. This monument, raised at the expense of literary Europe, was first buried in the Museum of President d'Hormoi. Later it was placed in the library of the Institute, or rather at the entrance to the library of the Institute, where it is still to be found—M. de Quincy saying that its most appropriate resting-place would be in a "school of anatomy." The head is not wanting in merit.

gard and to give the aged poet a pleasant anticipation of posthumous fame, was not carried out. The Clerical Party, which opposed as much as possible all honors paid the memory of Voltaire, would have risen in a body against this official homage; and it was not considered sufficiently important to provoke a profitless quarrel by pursuing it. Consequently there was no further question of an official statue, and it was Houdon's statuette, so favorably commented on in the Salon of 1779, that led to his being commissioned for the statue.

On the advice of d'Alembert, Mme. Denis, the niece and sole legatee of the great man, desired Houdon to execute the figure in marble, and of life size, as a gift to the French Academy. But before the statue was finished, a foolish marriage at sixty-eight years of age, after thirty-six years of widowhood, to a man younger than herself,[1] caused the men of letters and philosophers to absent themselves from Mme. Denis's salon. In order to revenge this slight, aggravated by certain sarcasms pronounced against her, the niece of Voltaire conceived the idea of offering the statue, not to the Academy, but to the Comédie, and through the medium of Gerbier,[2] the celebrated advocate and one of the Company's counselors, arranged to have them ask for it.

A letter was addressed by the Comedians to Mme. Duvivier under date of September 26, 1780, in which the signers, all mem-

[1] Duvivier. There is a most amusing account of this individual in the "Souvenirs" of Mme. Vigée-Lebrun, chapter v, translated edition, 1879.

[2] Houdon did a bust of him.

VOLTAIRE

bers of the Comédie, represented the appropriateness of having Voltaire's statue on the scene of his many triumphs, and citing the affection that had always existed between himself and the members of the Company.

Mme. Duvivier wrote the same day, acknowledging her joy at the flattering expressions contained in the letter, and the great satisfaction and pleasure it gave her to accede to their request, and in the possession of the Comédie the statue remains to this day. No happier spot could have been chosen for it than the Théâtre-Français, where nightly throngs for generations past have been able to view and admire it.

Of the impression it makes upon beholders something may be gathered from those who have recorded their impressions: "It figures the mortality of the body and the immortality of the soul; it is deformity transfigured by genius." Yet another: "It displays the union of intellectual power with physical weakness." Again: "In its presence no other form suggests itself, and one does not see how it could be different." In more descriptive vein: "In this marble he lives for us as well as for his contemporaries; leaning forward slightly, he appears to be listening to our words; he looks at us; he sees us; he ponders and he smiles." And finally, to quote from Claude Phillips: "The lover of dramatic art at its fountain-head, so often as he finds himself within this temple of Tragedy and Comedy, is irresistibly impelled to bend his steps toward the foyer, there to commune with this keenly interrogative marble of

Voltaire, with the glance of ice and of flame. And each time—so magical is the art of Houdon—is conviction strengthened that more absolutely than even the man himself or his works does the marble effigy express the tone of the theatre which it adorns, the keenness, vivacity and polish of the work that it has done, its intellectual atmosphere and that of the France of the eighteenth century, of which Voltaire was, if not the most attractive or human, the central and dominant figure."[1]

Finished in 1781, the statue was placed in the new theatre in the Faubourg St.-Germain, when completed and opened the next year. In 1794, during the imprisonment of the Comedians and the closing of the theatre in the Reign of Terror, an inventory was taken in which, among other objects, the statue was entered as "belonging to the nation." In virtue of this spurious authority, in the year 1796, workmen, despatched by the ministry, presented themselves for the purpose of carrying off the Voltaire from the vestibule and of putting it in the National Institute recently organized. Saint-Prix, the tragedian, made answer that this statue was not national property but belonged to the creditors of the Society, then bankrupt. Upon this, the Minister of the Interior authorized his agent to open negotiations to ascertain in whom the ownership really lay, and, further, to acquire it for the government; but the Comedians gave answer that they could not, and would not, sell it.

[1] "Art Journal," 1906, p. 225.

The Minister persisting in the belief that they were merely the depositaries of it, the citizen Duvivier was obliged formally to certify that the statue was a gift without restrictions or reservations from his deceased wife to the Society of Artists of the Théâtre-Français, and was intended to remain "in their midst."

This important testimony was addressed in the form of a memorial to the Minister, and won the cause; but, the question of ownership once determined, the Comedians immediately offered to cede the statue to the Museum of the Louvre, conditioned on the payment of sums due retired artists who had contributed to the success of Voltaire's plays: Cloison, Dumesnil, Préville, etc., whom the Revolution had deprived of their pensions. This offer fortunately remained unanswered, as the "seated Voltaire" was found in its vestibule when the theatre was reopened under the name of the "Odéon," in 1797;[1] and here it was when the great fire occurred in 1799. The statue as well as the busts was saved by the grenadiers of the Legislative Assembly, aided by a young painter, Germain Bévalet.

A new Théâtre-Français arose as it were from the ashes of the Odéon. On the 31st of May, 1799, the Comédie-Française, reconstituted, opened its doors in the Rue de Richelieu; but it was not until 1806, on the 1st of September, that the statue was brought

[1] Not to be confused with the present Odéon, Place de l'Odéon, near the Palais du Luxembourg, and where the statue has never been.

back across the river and again placed here in the peristyle, where it remained in rear of the ticket-office until 1864. At this period the construction of a new foyer for the public allowed of its being transferred to the large room reserved for busts; so that, after being in the antechamber for eighty-two years, Houdon's masterpiece was placed here on the 16th of March, 1864.

During the siege of Paris, M. Édouard Thierry, Director of the Théâtre-Français, as a precautionary measure, in September, 1870, had the statue incased in thin boards and enveloped in canvas. Strange to relate, government officials seemed to suspect this very natural precaution as an attempt to conceal the image of Voltaire, and so a formal notice was served to "remove the coverings that conceal the statue of Voltaire." The following day M. Thierry called at the Hôtel de Ville, where M. Arago told him, "I am about having a resolution adopted, by which, considering that Houdon's Voltaire is the masterpiece of French sculpture, it will be displaced and lodged in a safe place."

Thierry asks him to have it clearly expressed in the resolution that the statue is the property of the Théâtre-Français, and that it should be nowhere received excepting as a deposit.

The "Siècle" having politely invited the Director to quit the Théâtre-Français if Voltaire and his statue disturbed him in any way, M. Thierry wrote as follows, the letter appearing in the newspaper the next day:

Sir Director:

The Théâtre-Français has had the statue of Voltaire encased in wood and enveloped in canvas, as it also has that of Mlle. Rachel, for the sole purpose of protecting them both against accidents likely to occur in a hospital.[1] I thought that this precautionary measure toward one of the wonders of French sculpture which is both our pride and the treasure of the Society, would require no explanation.

But, as I appear mistaken, allow me to reassure your readers of the respect entertained by the Comédie for both Voltaire and the images of him. There are five still remaining on view: in the tiring-room of the artists, in the library, in the public foyer (being now the large hospital), where the bust of the author of "Mérope" is always uncovered, and where we have veiled none of the literary lights of the eighteenth century.

Believe me, Sir, etc.,

ÉD. THIERRY.

On the 7th of October, an individual from the Museum came to the Theatre with these words scribbled in pencil on the half of an envelope: "I beg of M. E. Thierry to be good enough to hand over the statue of Voltaire to the bearer, who will take it to the Louvre. Order of the Minister of Public Instruction." Signed, "F. Ravaisson, Custodian of Antiquities."

The messenger viewed the statue, says M. Thierry, and came to the conclusion that it would be a considerable labor, as in the first place the grand staircase would have to be staged, and, he adds, "profited by the occasion to write M. Ravaisson that the Théâtre-Français would view with regret the disappearance of the statue,

[1] The building was used as a hospital during the siege of Paris, 1870–71.

even for a little while." "On the 14th of January, 1871, the men from the Museum removed the statue of Voltaire from its pedestal, which is already in the corridor of the first gallery." At this point M. de Monval adds, as if recorded by M. Thierry, "and there is no further question in the matter until the end of the two sieges."

An examination of the published journal[1] fails to disclose these words, and their effect is misleading, for the writers naturally supposed that it meant the statue had been removed to the Louvre, that having been the "question" as to its disposal. This is shown in a note made by M. Thierry under the date of Monday, January 9, 1871: "Ch. Blanc came. We viewed the statue of Voltaire and looked about together for a place where we might place it, to be protected from a bombardment or secure against being carried off. Ch. Blanc will speak about it to M. Villot, so that it shall be moved to the cellars of the Louvre." The next day, Friday, June 10th, there is a note: "Went to M. Tissot's. He does not see that the statue of Voltaire will be any more secure in the Louvre than at the Theatre. He urges us to keep it by us." Then follows the note of the 14th, given above, stating that the men from the Museum had removed the statue from its pedestal. It would appear that at this point any attempt at removal ended, and a further reading of the Journal explains the cause; for, under date of Sunday, the 15th, we find, "This night, by intervals, terrific explosions of shells; this morning, incessant cannonade from the southwest." Under the

[1] "La Comédie-Française pendant les deux Sièges," 1870–71.

16th, "Bombardment all night,—the detonations succeeded each other rapidly and incessantly,—last night about 10 o'clock a bomb fell in the Jardin des Plantes." The bombardment had begun, and any projects formed for removal had immediately to be abandoned, and so the statue remained at the Theatre during the fiery ordeal; and when a breathing-space comes we find under date of March 11th, "The statue of Voltaire is replaced on its pedestal; told Davesnes, to whom the chief workman addressed himself, to give him 30 francs, the same as paid him previously." This refers evidently to the same man having been employed at the time of the statue's removal from the pedestal in January. Finally, on the 27th of May, 1871, when the Commune was almost suppressed but the streets of Paris were still disturbed and dangerous, M. Thierry makes his way to the Theatre and recounts: "Embraced L. Guillard. He showed me how he had protected the statue of Voltaire and a certain number of fine busts in the foyer."

No, the statue of Voltaire was *not* removed during the two sieges, 1870, 1871. As recently as 1900, after a fire at the Comédie, the statue was temporarily sheltered at the Louvre during the rebuilding of the Theatre. It has long since been returned to the Comédie, and there in its appropriate resting-place, surrounded continually by a bank of flowers, we may bid this wonderful image, "the finest iconic work which the eighteenth century has produced,"[1] *Requiescat in pace.*

[1] Claude Phillips in "London Art Journal," 1893, p. 78.

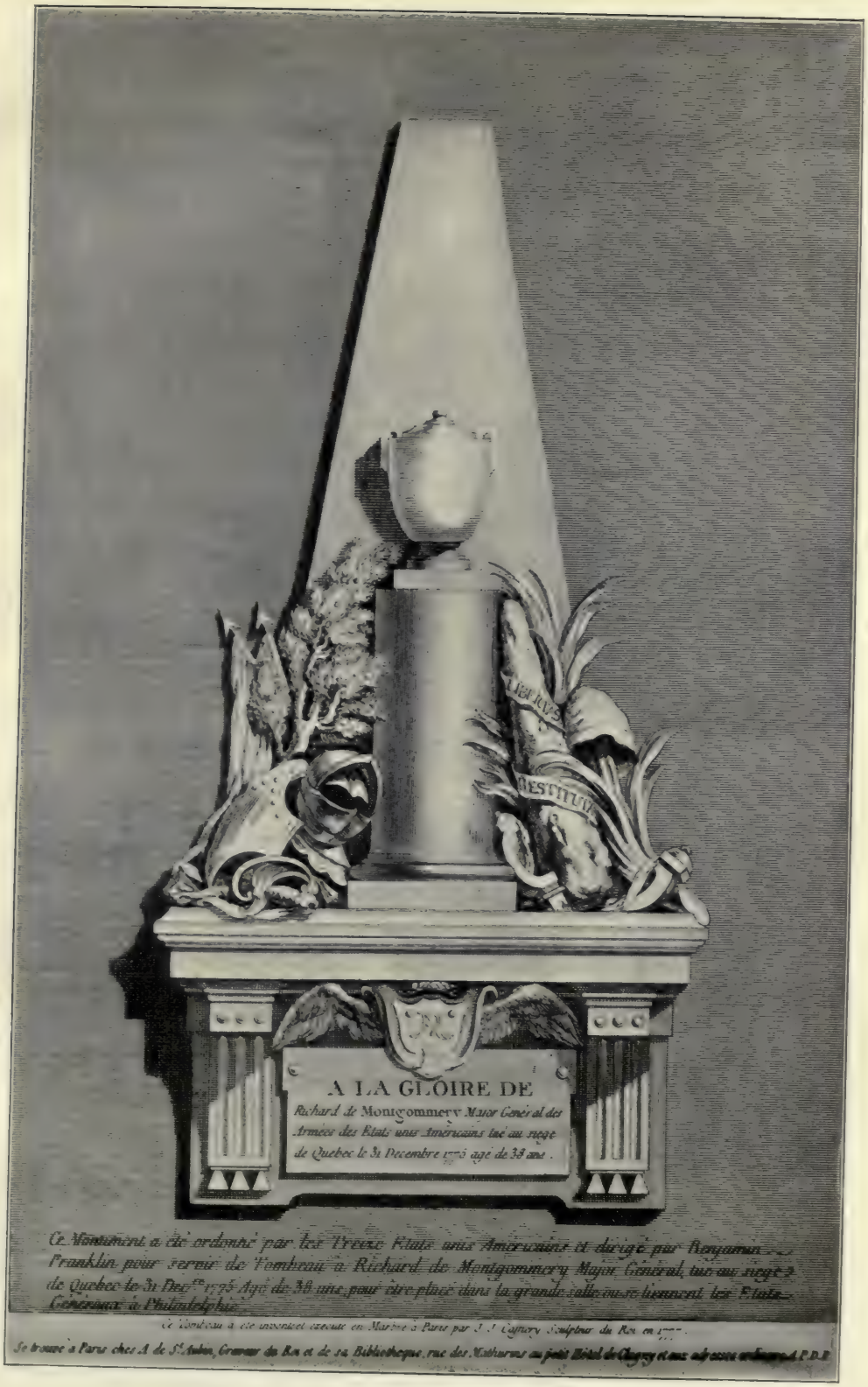
CHAPTER IV

1777

TOMB OF MONTGOMERY BY CAFFIERI; OUR FIRST NATIONAL MONUMENT

IRELAND gave birth to more of the American revolutionary patriots than is commonly known, and the second general officer to fall in the War of the Revolution was of Irish birth. At Swords, near Feltrim, county Dublin, Ireland, on the 2d of December, 1736, was born Richard Montgomery, whose father was a member of the Irish Parliament.[1] Commissioned an ensign before he was twenty, he accompanied his regiment to Halifax, N. S., and saw much severe service at Louisbourg, Champlain, Montreal and in the West Indies, promotion for which being denied him, he sold his commission and settled on a farm at King's Bridge, now a part of New York City, where, soon after, he took his bride, Janet, daughter of Judge Robert R. Livingston, to whom he was married on July 24, 1773. Later they removed to her home near Rhinebeck, on the Hudson, and in May of 1775 he was sent as a delegate to the first Provincial Congress of New York. The following month he was appointed, by Congress, a Brigadier-

[1] "Return of the Names of every Member returned to serve in each Parliament from 1696 up to 1876." London, 1879. Pt. II, p. 657.


A LA GLOIRE DE
Richard de Montgommery Major Général des
Armées des Etats unis Américains tué au siege
de Québec le 31 Decembre 1775 agé de 38 ans.
Ce Monument a été ordonné par les Treize Etats unis Américains et dirigé par Benjamin
Franklin pour servir de Tombeau à Richard de Montgommery Major Général, tué au siege
de Québec le 31 Dec.re 1775 Agé de 38 ans, pour être placé dans la grande salle ou se tiennent les Etats
Généraux à Philadelphie.
Ce Tombeau a été inventé et exécuté en Marbre à Paris par J. J. Caffieri Sculpteur du Roi en 1777.
Se trouve à Paris chez A. de St. Aubin, Graveur du Roi et de la Bibliotheque, rue des Mathurins au petit Hôtel de Clugny et aux adresses ordinaires. A.P.D.R

CENOTAPH TO GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY
PORTICO OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, NEW YORK

General in the Continental Army and six months later was commissioned a Major-General for his brilliant services in Canada. Stimulated by promotion to redoubled efforts, he planned an assault upon Quebec, for the last day of the year, December 31, 1775, and, in a driving snow-storm, led the attack. At the first fire of the British artillery he fell, with his aides, Macpherson and Cheeseman, by his side.

Enemies and friends alike paid tribute to Montgomery's valor. The government of Quebec and the chief officers of the garrison buried him with the honors of war. Congress, at Philadelphia, on January 22, 1776, appointed William Livingston, Dr. Franklin and William Hooper a committee to consider a proper method of paying a just tribute of gratitude to the memory of the fallen chieftain. Three days later this committee reported: "It being not only a tribute of gratitude, justly due to the memory of those who have peculiarly distinguished themselves in the glorious cause of liberty, to perpetuate their names by the most durable monuments erected to their honour, but also greatly conducive to inspire posterity with an emulation of their illustrious actions,

"*Resolved,* That to express the veneration of the United Colonies for their late general, Richard Montgomery, and the deep sense they entertain of the many signal and important services of that gallant officer, who, after a series of successes, amidst the most discouraging difficulties, fell, at length, in a gallant attack upon Quebec, the capital of Canada; and for transmitting to future ages

an example truly worthy of imitation, his patriotism, conduct, boldness of enterprize, insuperable perseverance and contempt of danger and death; a monument be procured from Paris, or any other part of France, with an inscription sacred to his memory and expressive of his amiable character and heroic achievements; and that the Continental treasurers be directed to advance a sum, not exceeding £300 sterling, to Dr. Benjamin Franklin (who is desired to see this resolution properly executed) for defraying the expense thereof.

"That Dr. Smith be desired to prepare and deliver a funeral oration in honour of General Montgomery and of those officers and soldiers who so magnanimously fought and fell with him in maintaining the principles of American liberty."

The oration was delivered before Congress on the 19th of February, by the Rev. William Smith, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and was published in Philadelphia, London, Paris and elsewhere; but Dr. Franklin, to whom was committed the securing the execution of the monument, did not arrive in Paris until a few days before Christmas, and it was the following summer before the work was put in hand. He selected to execute it Jean Jacques Caffieri, whose employment to do this work involved Franklin in many annoyances from him when, some years later, a sculptor had to be selected to model the statue of Washington for the State of Virginia, which was executed by Houdon; Caffieri, indeed, claiming the Washington commission as a right, contending

LOUISE BRONGNIART

that he had made Montgomery's tomb for glory and not for price, as we shall see in the letters hereafter given, to which this chapter is an introduction. The invaluable manuscript correspondence of Dr. Franklin, in the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, yields a rich harvest of unreaped material upon these subjects. The letters, of which the following is the first, are translated from the French originals.

PARIS, 13 June, 1777.

Sir:

I have asked the gentleman (your son)[1] for the names, surnames and titles of Genl. Montgomery, the place and date of his birth, or what time he spent in Boston, the several grades through which he passed, the most distinguished incidents in his career, how he attacked Quebec, in which spot he was killed, and above all the date of his death, his age and his arms. This will be very necessary to me as I count on exhibiting a drawing of the tomb at the next Salon. I will add a description of the tomb and of the person for whom it is being made. You will oblige me very much by sending me these notes as promptly as it may be possible for you to do so. I have the honor to be, Sir, your

Very humble and very obedient Servant, CAFFIERI.

Caffieri did exhibit his design in the Salon of 1777, along with his bust of Franklin. The entry in the catalogue is: "Dessin du tombeau d'un général que l'artiste execute en marbre de 10 pieds de haut sur 5 de large." Then follows a description: "From an altarpiece supported by two brackets rises a broken column, on which rests a cinerary urn. On one side of the column is a military trophy, joined by a branch of cypress; on the other are the emblems

[1] William Temple Franklin, his grandson.

of liberty, with a palm-branch. Behind the column rises a pyramid. Under the altarpiece, between the two brackets, is an escutcheon and a white marble tablet for the inscription."

It appears that Caffieri had promised to give, in the description of his design, its destination, an omission which was not through forgetfulness, and was not allowed to pass unnoticed. The "Mémoires Secrets" say:

> It is not known why the artist has not ventured to name the hero to whom the monument is to be raised. It is a subject of general curiosity, and indignation is felt at the offensive reticence displayed, typifying the weakness of government, which doubtless forbade it for fear of offending the English.

And in a foot-note add that "the tomb was intended for General Montgomery, killed before Quebec, the 31st of December, 1775."

A year later the cenotaph was finished and shipped to America. This we know from a somewhat amusing letter from Franklin to James Hutton of London, who had asked for a passport for a vessel sent by the Moravians of England to their missionaries on the coast of Labrador. It is dated "Passy, 23 June, 1778. My dear old friend has here the paper he desired. We have had a marble monument made at Paris for the brave General Montgomery, which is gone to America. If it should fall into the hands of any of your cruisers, I expect you will exert yourself to get it restored to us, because I know the generosity of your temper, which likes to do handsome things as well as to make returns. You see, we are un-

willing to *rob the hospital;* we hope your people will be found as averse to *pillaging the dead.*" Owing to the chief ports of entry being in the hands of the British, this marble was shipped to the care of Joseph Hewes, at Edenton, North Carolina; and Franklin, not being advised of its arrival, wrote to John Jay, President of Congress, from "Passy, October 4, 1779. It is two years, I believe, since I sent the monument of General Montgomery. I have heard that the vessel arrived in North Carolina, but nothing more. I should be glad to know of its coming to hand and whether it was approved. Here it was admired for the goodness and beauty of the marble and the simplicity of the design. The sculptor has had an engraving made of it, of which I enclose a copy. It was contrived to be affixed to the wall within some church or in the great room where the Congress met. Directions for putting it up went with it. All the parts were well packed in strong cases." The pressure of public affairs of greater moment evidently kept Jay from advising Franklin in answer to his inquiry; for three years later we find Franklin writing to the same effect to Robert R. Livingston, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

PASSY, 12 August, 1782.

This [proposed monument to Yorktown] puts me in mind of a monument I got made here and sent to America by order of Congress five years since. I have heard of its arrival and nothing more. It was admired here for its elegant antique simplicity of design and the various beautiful marbles used in its composition. It was intended to be fixed against a wall in the State House of Philadelphia. I know not why it has

been so long neglected; it would, methinks, be well to inquire after it and get it put up somewhere. Directions for fixing it were sent with it. I enclose a print of it. The inscription on the engraving is not on the monument; it was merely the fancy of the engraver. There is a white plate of marble left smooth to receive such inscription as the Congress should think proper.

Another two years were allowed to roll by before any action was taken in regard to erecting the monument, when in Congress, on Tuesday, June 1, 1784, on motion of Mr. De Witt, seconded by Mr. Gerry, it was resolved:

"*Whereas,* On the 25th day of January, 1776, Congress did resolve that a monument be procured at Paris or any other place in France, with an inscription sacred to the memory of General Montgomery; which in consequence thereof was procured and sent to the care of Mr. Hewes, in North Carolina, and is now supposed to be in the care of his executors:

"*Resolved,* That the executors of Joseph Hewes, Esq., or the person in whose hands the monument is, be requested to deliver the same to the order of the Superintendent of Finance, to be transported to the city of New York, to be erected in such part of the State of New York as the Legislature thereof may judge proper, and that the expense accruing thereon be paid by the United States of America."

This action of Congress leaves the impression that the monument was rather in the nature of a white elephant, which Congress was endeavoring to shove off on some other body, an impression that is

not removed by the action of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York on November 26, 1784, when it was resolved "that the Monument by the United States, in Congress, ordered to be erected to the memory of Major General Montgomerie, be erected in the city of New York, at such particular place as the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the said city, in Common Council convened, shall appoint."

None of these actions could have been communicated to Franklin, which, to say the least, does not speak well for the amenities of our forefathers, when Franklin had had the entire burden and responsibility of procuring the monument, and showed his great interest in it by his constant inquiries, for within a year after his return to America we find him writing again to Jay on the subject. He says:

PHILADELPHIA, August 24, 1786.

The monument of General Montgomery—May I ask what is become of it? It has formerly been said that republicks are naturally ungrateful. The immediate resolution of Congress for erecting that monument contradicts that opinion. But the letting the monument lie eight years unpack'd, if true, seems rather a Confirmation of it.

Whether this last communication stirred the matter up for final settlement, we do not know, but on the 3d of April, 1787, in the Common Council of New York, the Mayor laid before the Board the concurrent resolution of the Legislature of two years and a half before, and the Board "proceeded to the consideration of a place for erecting the Monument, and the front of St. Paul's Church in this

city was unanimously agreed to be the most proper place. And thereupon it was ordered that a Committee be appointed to consult with the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Episcopal Church on the subject, and if approved of by them, that the Committee take order and direct the said Monument to be properly erected accordingly."

Thus a place for the monument to Montgomery was finally arranged, but it yet required time to complete its erection, and it was not until 1789 that this monument, ordered by Congress thirteen years before and delivered by the sculptor to Franklin and by him shipped to America within a year of the time that the order was given, was put in place against the wall under the large portico of the eastern end of St. Paul's Church, where it remains to-day and can be seen readily by any one passing up or down Broadway—the oldest public monument in the city of New York.

It is signed, "Invenit et sculpsit J J Caffieri, Sculptor, Regius Anno Domini cbbcclxxvii." The inscription is an abbreviation of the minute of Congress which came from the pen of Franklin.

This Monument is erected by order of Congress
25th Janʏ 1776 to transmit to posterity a grateful remembrance of the patriotism, conduct, enterprize & perseverance
of Major General RICHARD MONTGOMERY
Who after a series of successes amidst the most discouraging difficulties Fell in the attack on
Quebec 31st Decʳ 1775 Aged 37 years[1]

[1] Montgomery's age as given on the monument was thought at the time to be correct, but later investigation has shown that he was thirty-nine years old at the time of his death.

ALEXANDRE BRONGNIART

More than two score years after he fell, Montgomery's remains were disinterred and brought to New York, where on July 8, 1818, they were deposited beneath this monument, the history of which has not before been told, and which it is of great importance should be told for the "truth of history," in view of the remarkable statement made by the late Dr. Morgan Dix, in his "History of the Parish of Trinity Church, New York" (Part II, page 141): "To begin with, the monument to General Montgomery, in the portico of St. Paul's Chapel, in front of the great window—*that monument was ordered by the Vestry and made in England.*" Comment is unnecessary, but not upon the terrible dilapidation into which this wealthy corporation has permitted our first national monument to fall. It is not only seriously fractured in parts, but it is generally so uncared for that no one would ever dream that it was made of varicolored marbles or, knowing it, could ever detect it.

That Caffieri was not aware of the neglect his monument had received when he importuned Franklin to give him the Washington statue to model, is shown by his memorial, in 1786, soliciting "des Lettres de Noblesse et le Cordon de Saint Michel," wherein he sets forth among his most important works:

"4. Un grand tombeau érigé à la gloire de Richard de Montgomery, major-général des Américaine, placé dans la grande salle où se tiennent les États-généraux à Philadelphie en 1777."

The print of the monument, mentioned by Franklin in his letters to Jay and to Livingston, was engraved by Augustin de St. Aubin

and published in 1779, and must have been copied from the exhibited design, which the sculptor departed from in executing the marble, and not from the finished monument, as the two vary in many details, besides being reversed, as is often the case in prints prior to the last century.

CHAPTER V

1778

BUSTS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN—CAFFIERI'S JEALOUSY OF HOUDON—LETTERS FROM CAFFIERI TO FRANKLIN—CAFFIERI'S BUST OF FRANKLIN WRONGFULLY ATTRIBUTED TO CERACCHI—THE BUSTS OF FRANKLIN BY HOUDON AND BY CAFFIERI COMPARED

THE subject of this chapter is of the first importance and interest, owing to the errors and mistakes that have hung around it for well-nigh a century. Houdon's preëminence as an artist and distinction as a man have made it customary to attach his name to almost every bust that we have of the "Father of all the Yankees," as Carlyle dubbed Franklin. And it is to point out clearly and definitively which is the Houdon type of Franklin bust and which the type called the Ceracchi (which, however, we shall show was not by Ceracchi, but by Caffieri, a fellow-countryman and contemporary of Houdon), that we shall bend our energies.

To properly survey the field and present the entire subject intelligently, it becomes necessary to anticipate somewhat Franklin's arrival in France, toward the close of 1776. Nine months before his appointment to represent the Congress at the court of Versailles,

that body, as we have seen, had requested him to carry out its resolution providing for a monument to the memory of General Richard Montgomery. Thus coming events cast their light before. Franklin, at this time, was a resident of Philadelphia, and while he was a delegate to Congress and chairman of the Secret Committee of Correspondence, which was in fact a committee on foreign relations, his name had not even been mentioned for the mission that was to add such lustre to his declining years. Indeed, INDEPENDENCE had hardly then been thought of, except perhaps by Sam Adams and a few of his radical followers. Franklin, too, had passed the allotted milestone of life and but recently returned from an eleven years' residence in England, which might have been considered an immunity from further foreign service. But France was already showing her leaning toward the revolted colonies, and Franklin was the Frenchman's American then, as he is to-day. Therefore he, and only he, was the man, in the mind's eye, to go to France when the proper moment should arrive; and thus he was intrusted, ahead of time, to select, when he should get there, the sculptor to make the first commemorative monument ordered by the Continental Congress.

Franklin arrived in Paris on December 21, 1776,[1] and on the

[1] Mme. du Deffand wrote to Horace Walpole from Paris, December 22, 1776, "Dr. Franklin arrived in town yesterday at two o'clock in the afternoon." Lettres de la Marquise du Deffand à Horace Walpole, Paris, 1812, Vol. III, p. 361, *n.* See also "Correspondance Secrete," January 1, 1777, Vol. IV, p. 70: "The celebrated Franklin arrived at Paris on the 21st of December and the eyes of the world are fixed on his slightest movement."

12th of the next month the police entered this description of him on their record:

"Dr. Franklin lately arrived in this country. This Quaker wears the full costume of his sect. He has an agreeable physiognomy; spectacles always on his eyes; but little hair; a fur cap is always on his head. He wears no powder; tidy in his dress; very white linen; a walking-stick his only defence."

A month later, Franklin confirms this official description in a letter to Mrs. Emma Thompson at Lille.[1] He writes:

"I know you wish you could see me, but, as you can't, I will describe myself to you. Figure me in your mind as jolly as formerly, and as strong and hearty, only a few years older, very plainly dressed, wearing my thin gray straight hair, that peeps out under my only *Coiffure,* a fine fur cap, which comes down my Forehead almost to my spectacles."

This was the odd figure that appeared "among the powdered heads of Paris," as he told Mrs. Hewson[2] the same day that he gave the police the impression that he was a Quaker in the plain garb of his sect. He was not at all averse that his unpolished appearance should, as it doubtless did, intensify the character the French people had already formed of him. Almost immediately, with a mushroom-like growth, his portrait was seen everywhere, in painting, engraving and sculpture, in miniature, medallion and statuette,

[1] Smyth's Franklin, Vol. VII, p. 26.
[2] Smyth's Franklin, Vol. VII, p. 10.

numbering hundreds. They were set in rings, watches, snuff-boxes, bracelets, looking-glasses, clocks, and even in articles of household use, until it was said by a gossip of the day that his likeness was "to be found at the hearth of the lowly and in the boudoir of the beautiful." Before he was a year in Paris, Cochin had drawn him in his fur cap, and St. Aubin had engraved it;[1] Greuze had painted his little-known but extremely fine pastel portrait of him;[2] Nini had modeled no less than five different medallions for cheap reproduction; and Caffieri had made a bust of him that was exhibited in the Salon of 1777. This last item is pregnant with importance in our consideration of the present subject; for so completely had it been buried and forgotten that it was virtually unknown until disinterred by the writer a few years ago in a rather remarkable manner.

The two busts of Franklin familiar in this country have been known for a century interchangeably as the Ceracchi bust and the Houdon bust, but few persons entertaining any idea of distinguishing or individualizing them—differentiating one from the other;

[1] The following verses, written for St. Aubin's engraving of Cochin's portrait of Franklin, were suppressed by the censor as being blasphemous:

C'est l'honneur et l'appui du nouvel hémisphère,
Les flots de l'Océan s'abaissent à sa voix;
Il réprime ou dirige à son gré le tonnerre,
Qui désarmée les Dieux peut-il craindres les Rois.

Grimm-Diderot Correspondance, October, 1777, Vol. XII, p. 3.

[2] This picture, and the only portrait of Franklin by Greuze, although many are claimed to be by him, belonged to Prince Demidoff, and was purchased at the great San Donato sale, in March, 1870, by its present owner, Mrs. Thomas Lindall Winthrop of Boston, Massachusetts.

so that one may find in public galleries and in private collections both busts attributed, interchangeably, to Houdon and to Ceracchi.

A decade ago, when the writer was preparing his monograph on "The Life Portraits of Franklin,"[1] he came across a letter from Franklin "to a discontented artist whose name is not preserved."[2] This letter is in the Stevens collection of Franklin manuscripts in the Library of Congress at Washington, where are an undated and unsigned draft in English, in Franklin's own hand, and a dated translation into French by an amanuensis, signed by Franklin. As this letter has not been accurately printed in either of the publications where it appears,[3] we give Franklin's original draft and also the French translation. The latter has a pen line drawn diagonally across the second paragraph, as it is here printed, which would indicate that this paragraph was omitted from the letter actually sent and no notice whatever taken of the correspondent's complaints,—a sober, wise second thought.

(DRAFT.)

Sir:

I receiv'd the two obliging Lettres you have lately written to me. Please to deliver one of the Busts to M. le Roy, of the Academy of Sciences, and keep the other till call'd for by M. Carmichael, Chargé des Affaires des États Unis at Madrid. Send me a Bill of the Expense with a Receipt and it shall be immediately paid. Your Complaints of Injustice, of being supplanted, etc., seem to have been founded on a

[1] McClure's Magazine for January, 1897.
[2] Hale's Franklin in France, Vol. II, p. 372.
[3] Hale's Franklin in France, Vol. II, p. 372, and Smyth's Franklin, Vol. IX, p. 346.

mistake. You have not considered the 13 States of America as so many distinct Governments, each of which has a Right to employ what Artist it thinks proper, and is under no kind of Obligation to employ one who has been employ'd before, either by the Congress or by particular States. The State of Virginia, therefore, in chusing another, tho' perhaps they may not have made a better choice, have certainly done you no injustice. With great esteem I have the honour to be.

(FRENCH TRANSLATION.)

PASSY, le 20 Juin, 1785.

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, les 2 Lettres obligeantes que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire dernièrement. Remettez, Je vous prie, un des Bustes à Mr. le Roy de L'Académie des Sciences, et gardez l'autre jusqu'à ce que M. Carmichael, Chargé des Affaires des États Unis à Madrid, le demande. Aussitôt que vous m'aurez envoyé votre mémoire quittancé il vous sera payé immediatement.

Vos Plaintes sur l'Injustice d'avoir été supplanté &c. semblent fondées sur un malentendu. Vous n'avez pas considéré que les 13 États Unis de l'Amérique sont autant Gouvernements distincts, qui ont chacun le Droit d'employer tel Artiste qu'ils jugent à propos, et ne sont aucunement obligés d'en employer un qui a été employé avant, soit par le Congrès ou par des États particuliers. L'État de Virginie par conséquence nous vous a certainement fait aucun Injustice, en prenant un autre Artiste, quoi qu'il n'ait peut-être pas fait un meilleur choix.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec beaucoup d'Estime, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

B. FRANKLIN.

These two pieces are calendared[1] with the name of "[JEAN ANTOINE HOUDON?]," in brackets and with a query-mark, as

[1] List of the Benjamin Franklin Papers in the Library of Congress, p. 161.

a putative addressee. This was the suggestion of Stevens. The date of the letter and its comment upon "your complaints of Injustice" showed me clearly that it could not have been addressed to Houdon, as at that very date Houdon was under contract to accompany Franklin to America to model a statue of Washington, so that he had no possible cause for complaint, while the complaint itself was plainly directed against him on this very ground. As the only other contemporary bust of Franklin known was the one attributed to Ceracchi, he was the only other sculptor with whom Franklin was thought to have had any affiliations, and this letter to an unknown sculptor was therefore assumed to have been written to Ceracchi.

Not long after the publication of my monograph, in examining the very important Franklin manuscript correspondence in the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, a new Richmond appeared upon the field. I found the letter dated "Paris, June 13, 1777," signed "Caffieri," given in the preceding chapter. Thus Franklin's choice of a sculptor to make the Montgomery memorial confided to him by Congress had fallen, this letter revealed, upon Jean Jacques Caffieri, a Parisian sculptor of Italian descent, who was the senior of Houdon by sixteen years. The design for the memorial was exhibited at the Salon of 1777, *along with a bust of Franklin.* This seemed to be a new bust of Franklin, from the hand of a sculptor hitherto unknown in this connection.

Further search discovered numerous letters from Caffieri to Dr.

Franklin and to his grandson and secretary, William Temple Franklin. On May 3, 1780, he invites Franklin to his studio to see his "statue in marble of St. Satyre, destined to be placed in one of the chapels of the Royal Church of the Invalides." On June 4 he writes:

I learn by the public papers that the Congress at Philadelphia, in acknowledgment of the services rendered by the late Count Pulaski, Brigadier General, have resolved that a public monument shall be raised to the memory of that officer and that its execution shall be confided to a French artist. Owing to that article I take the liberty to write you for the purpose of reminding you that you had the goodness to promise to confide to me the execution of all the Tombs that the United States of America should have made in the future. As some time has elapsed since there has been a question of this tomb, perhaps I have a competitor. However, I am indifferent to this; I dare hope to have the preference to obtain the monument as I have in you, Sir, full confidence.

Two years later—April 1, 1782—he writes:

Sickness and the bad weather have prevented me from having the honour of calling to assure you of my humble civilities and to pray you to remember me on the occasion when you may be charged by the American republic with some piece of sculpture, whether Tomb or Statue, in marble or in bronze. You have had the goodness to promise me not to forget me when the occasion presents itself. It is not to be doubted but that the republic will desire to testify by monuments the happy services of the heroes who live, as of the heroes who sacrificed themselves for their country. My talents you know. I dare hope that you will prefer me to any propositions another sculptor might make you.

And on May 3, 1782, he presents Franklin with "the statue of Pierre Corneille, which is a faithful copy of the one I have exe-

cuted in marble for the King." The next year is a banner year of importuning letters, Caffieri having written not less than six, each one begging to be employed on any sculptural work to be ordered by the United States. On January 22, 1783, he writes Dr. Franklin:

I beg of you to aid in having my talents employed and to be persuaded that I shall apply all my care and zeal to prove myself worthy of your choice.

And the same day, to the grandson:

Peace between England and America being the epoch the most remarkable of this century, I venture to believe that your fellow-countrymen will hasten to render your illustrious grandfather, M. Franklin, the homage they owe to his sagacity, and to the success attending his negotiations. Perhaps the Americans residing in Paris may unite to send to Philadelphia the statue of this great man, in marble or in bronze, and I should take pride if you would contribute toward having me honored by their choice. Finally, if in one way or another it is desired to transmit the great event to posterity, I claim your good offices for my talents, which are known to you, promising you every endeavor to merit the suffrage of your country and of my own on so happy an occasion.

On March 25 of this year he wrote:

I have just learned indirectly that the United States of America are intending to raise a statue to the Glory of the King. If the thing be true, it would be very flattering for me to be charged with the execution of the monument. I beg of you, Sir, at this opportunity and at all others to be good enough to recall me to your mind and to be persuaded of my zeal and gratitude.

The rumor, mentioned in this letter as being afloat in Paris, of the intention of the American Congress to erect a monument to his

Most Christian Majesty seems to have been wide-spread over there, although, as far as I can discover, without the least foundation over here. The Journals of Congress contain not a word regarding it, and this reference in the letter of Caffieri was the first mention I ever saw of it. Yet Franklin seems to have been openly cognizant of it and by his action to have given credit to it. Bachaumont says:[1]

"There is a proposition of erecting to Louis XVI, in the square in Philadelphia opposite to the hall of Congress, a statue in bronze with this inscription:

POST DEUM
Deligenda et Servanda est Libertas,
Maximis empta laboribus;
Humanique sanguinis flumine irrigata
Per imminentia belli pericula;
Juvante
Optimo Galliarum Principe, Rege
LUDOVICO XVI
Hanc statuam principe augustissime
Consecravit
Et aeternam, pretiosam que beneficii
Memoriam
Grata reipublicae veneratio
Ultimis tradit nepotibus

And Metra writes the same day as Bachaumont:[2]

The Museum of Paris held a public meeting on the sixth of this month in honor of Peace, over which M. de Calhava presided and Mr.

[1] "Mémoires Secrets," March 19, 1783, Vol. XXII, p. 178. See also "Correspondance Secrete," July 28, 1783, Vol. XV, p. 19.

[2] "Correspondance Secrete," March 19, 1783, Vol. XIV, p. 190.

Franklin assisted. . . . After the concert Mr. Franklin was conducted into the room prepared for the supper to the guests. They drank his health and to the glory of the United States. Amid the noise of the instruments and the plaudits of the assemblage, a palm branch was placed in his hand and a crown upon his head. He spoke these words, "I am very sensible at these evidences of affection that I have received. I wish all of you much prosperity and an everlasting union between the two countries." He then retired. I have forgotten to say to you that, *speaking of the statue that the Congress has caused to be elevated to Louis XVI,* the Liberator of America, the Abbé Brizard, in his address, observed very ingeniously that it was the first time that a Republic had rendered such homage to a King.

Bachaumont, in his account of this celebration of the birth of the new Republic of the United States, adds that a bust of Franklin, presented by M. Houdon, was inaugurated amid the acclamations of all the spectators.[1] Nearly a score of years later Soulavie, confirming the criticism of Larousse, that his historical memoirs are more interesting than accurate, writes:[2]

That country [the United States] can never forget her obligation to Louis XVI, her benefactor. Congress voted a statue to that King at Philadelphia, with the following inscription *which I received from Mr. Franklin.* It is probably the only statue and inscription, *remaining in its proper place,* to the honor of that monarch whose strange destiny was such that the establishment of a Republic in America raised edifices to his memory which the institution of another Republic in France overturned.

1 "Mémoires Secrets," March 11, 1783, Vol. XXII, p. 154.
2 "Memoirs of the Reign of Louis XVI," London, 1802, Vol. IV, p. 342.

Of course there never was any monument erected to Louis XVI, in Philadelphia or anywhere else, by Congress; but Franklin gave the rumor credence by his presence and by listening to the remarks of Brizard; and as he was a personal friend of Soulavie, there is no reason to discredit Soulavie's statement that Franklin gave him the inscription, which makes this affair all the more singular and unintelligible, unless it can be explained as a stroke of diplomacy by the wily diplomat. It is certainly both curious and interesting, for which reason we have given all that can be learned of the incident.

The only action of Congress that could give any color to such a rumor was a resolution of October 29, 1781, "That the United States in Congress Assembled will cause to be erected at York in Virginia a marble column adorned with emblems of the Alliance between the United States and his Most Christian Majesty and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to his Excellency General Washington." This was referred to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Livingston wrote to Franklin, December 16, "I enclose a resolution of Congress for erecting a pillar to commemorate the victory at Yorktown," and asked Franklin to assist him in carrying the resolution into effect. This was never carried out, and nearly a century later, on December 3, 1879, Congress passed a resolution reciting that of October 29, 1781, and appropriating $100,000 to the erection of a monument commemorative of the centennial anniversary of the surrender at Yorktown in its place. Whether this original resolution was the

seed that grew into a monument to Louis XVI, we cannot tell, but great trees have grown from smaller acorns than this.

Caffieri writes to Franklin, September 1, 1783:

Permit me to reiterate my request in praying you, Sir, to be so good as to remember me in case the Congress of the United States should erect some monuments to the glory of the nation or to the Generals who have contributed to it.

And again, October 29:

In reading the last Gazette, I noticed that the United States of America has the intention of erecting a statue to Genl. Washington and that it is to be executed in Paris. If the thing is true I beg of you, Sir, to recall me to your mind. I have some claims upon your choice: seniority over persons who may make the same request to you; your Portrait and the tomb of Montgomery must have proved to you my zeal and knowledge.

This is followed two months later by a similar application. On December 31 he writes:

I learn from the public prints that, in spite of a costly war, the American states, to establish civil authority more thoroughly and render commerce more flourishing, propose building a City and a palace for Congress. I venture to hope, from your goodness, that if my feeble talents can be employed, you will call me to mind and believe that my eagerness and zeal may perhaps render me worthy of your choice. Be persuaded that I should regard as one of the most glorious moments of my life, that in which I should be fortunate enough to immortalize in some way the most brilliant epoch of the eighteenth century.

Through the following year Caffieri seems to have preserved an almost ominous silence, which is emphasized by the broadside that he fired during the final months of the Franklins' sojourn in France. We have already read of Caffieri's earlier jealousy of Houdon, and of his anonymous attack upon him as a man and as an artist, and now we have more of it in the sharp correspondence between Caffieri and William Temple Franklin.

From Paris, Caffieri writes to the younger Franklin, February 19, 1785:

I have learned that M. Houdon is charged on the part of Congress to execute two statues. I confess that, after having made the portrait of M. Franklin *gratuitously* and the tomb of General Montgomery, where I contented myself with the glory of its execution, I conceived that would pave the way for important works, and it was very far removed from my thoughts that I should be overlooked, basing my hopes on the word of M. Franklin, and that you did me the honor to promise to have me in mind, should anything occur. This is why I have recourse to you, Sir; not being able as yet to persuade myself of this preference to my injury. If by chance this undertaking should not lie entirely with yourself and M. Franklin, I hope that you will nevertheless interest yourself in my favor, and if the entire undertaking may not be confided to me, I venture to expect, from your good offices and the justice of my remonstrance, that you shall have me included for some part of it.

On March 11, not having had a reply from Temple Franklin, he writes to him again, and for the first time follows his signature with his titles and address:

I had the honor to write to you last month to ask you for enlighten-

FRANKLIN BY CAFFIERI

ment upon a rumor prevalent. It is claimed that M. Houdon has been charged to execute for Congress, two Statues, and that he has obtained preference over me, in spite of my seniority and the promises made me. I beg of you to tell me whether I am still to hope in this matter or whether I must abandon it. You will oblige me extremely by answering me.

I have the honor to be entirely, Sir,

Your very humble and obedient Servant,

CAFFIERI,

Sculptor to the King, Professor of his Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, rue des Cannelles, Faubourg St.-Germain.

On the following day Lair de la Motte, who was private secretary to Dr. Franklin for from five to six years, wrote to Caffieri from Passy:

I gave an account to Mr. Franklin of what you did me the honor to inform me of yesterday touching the bust which has been lost through Sr. de Lorme. He is annoyed at the accident and asks you to be good enough to furnish another one, that he trusts you will have packed like the first one and afterwards forwarded to Mr. Bondfield, merchant at Bordeaux, by a carrier more faithful and less costly than Sr. de Lorme, if the thing is possible. As soon as the consignment is made, Mr. Franklin asks you to be good enough to advise him so that he may notify Mr. Bondfield. He will be very glad also at the same time to receive your bill covering all your expenditures for this purpose.

But still Temple Franklin keeps silence and makes no reply to Caffieri's letters. This is too much for the hot-headed sculptor, and he bursts forth again on March 31st:

I have had the honor of writing you twice. I had flattered myself that I should receive an answer from you, as, when having been obliged to write to Ministers, Princes and the highest dignitaries of the Court, they have always made answer. This oversight on your part has much surprised me; however, it has not prevented me, according to your request made by you through a letter received from M. Lair de la Motte, from the undertaking to hand over a plaster bust of M. Franklin to Sr. de Lorme, with advice carefully to pack and box; he even charged himself with procuring the Passport and the covering with lead. He shipped it on the 28th of this month, as you will see by the memorandum enclosed

which comes to the sum of	40f 14c
and for the plaster bust	96
	frc 136 14

To these communications Temple Franklin replied in no uncertain terms on April 3, without specifically mentioning the last one, at the same time carefully preserving a copy of his letter among his papers. He wrote:

If I have not replied sooner, Sir, to the two letters that you did me the honor to write me, it was simply from a feeling of delicacy, as not being able to do so without stating disagreeable truths, and it seems to me that you should have understood it and not reproach me on the subject. You compel me now to speak and possibly wound you more in the answering than in remaining silent. In the first place, Sir, M. Houdon is not commissioned by Congress to execute Statues; and even if he were, I see no reason why you should cry out against it as you do. The claims you put forward, with so much assurance, are for the most part ill founded, and some of them unseemly. My grandfather has been as much surprised as I have, and he never imagined that, when he yielded to your entreaties and those of his friends in giving you sittings, that a day would come

when you would upbraid him for your having made his bust *Gratuiously;* and that upon this you would found your claim for being employed by Congress. M. Houdon has likewise made the bust of my grandfather *Gratuiously,* and moreover has sent four in plaister, also *Gratuiously;* but he has not boasted of it and has not thought it a reason for being employed by Congress, in preference to any one else, for works which Congress might deem expedient to have executed in this country. What you also advance relative to the tomb of General Montgomery has no better foundation than the promise which you pretend was made to you by my grandfather. He keeps all those that he makes, and as for that, never makes any of this nature. After receiving the price agreed upon in advance for the Tomb, how can you say that you contented yourself with the glory of its execution? Believe me, Sir, it is not thus one gains the esteem of honest people; and when going such lengths to prove disinterestedness, the one doing so often discloses his real feelings.

P. S. Mr. Lamotte will immediately call at M. Caffieri's to hand him the 136f. 14c. which are due him for the bust that he sent to Bordeaux.

The bust referred to in this postscript was sent by Franklin to Sir Edward Newenham, of Dublin, a member of the Irish parliament from 1769 to 1797, who was such a keen friend of the colonies that he told Franklin, "Upon the news of Montgomery's death at Quebec, I appeared in deep mourning in the Irish parliament—nay, deeper than his only brother."[1] Newenham had been pleading with Franklin for his bust for nearly two years. He writes to him, October 17, 1783, "My better part desires her most respectful and affectionate respects to his Excellency. She ardently longs to grace

[1] Alexander Montgomery—"Black Montgomery," as he was called—represented Donegal in the Irish parliament from 1769 to 1800.

our new study with his Bust. I have the place prepared for it. Vessels leave Bordeaux for this port frequently." Three days later he writes, "We are anxious for the treasure of the Bust"; and in another week, "Lady Newenham, still anxious for the Bust, desires her best and sincerest respects." But they did not receive it until a few days before Franklin left France. Newenham writes to Franklin, June 4, 1785:

This day I had infinite pleasure in receiving your most obliging letter, and yesterday I received the Bust, from on board Captain Murphy, and never parted from it untill I put it up in my library. I mentioned to the Collector and other officers *what it was,* and they most obligingly let it pass without unpacking it; two chairmen carried it on a bier and I rode along with them to Belcamp. Accept, my Dear Sir and much respected Friend, for such I pride myself in calling you, the warmest thanks of Lady Newenham and me.

When it got bruited abroad that Newenham had this bust, a present from Franklin, the English people declared it was an imposture, that Franklin was notoriously too poor to pay a sculptor to make his bust. It is to this that Newenham alludes in his last letter to Franklin, written January 12, 1786:

One amusing fiction was that I bought an old Bust of Lord Chancellor Newport and pretended it was yours, for that it was well known you were so poor that you never sat for your Bust. However, many of the Sycophants have been to see it. . . . A few that remember you here declare *it brings you fully to their remembrance.*

There is an unconfirmed tradition that this bust was destroyed during the Irish insurrection of 1798.

But to return to the Caffieri-Franklin correspondence. Caffieri replied to Temple Franklin under date of April 8, 1785:

You had good cause, Sir, to remark that your answer would give me greater pain than your silence. I did not think myself exposed to such an one from you, and surely you would have avoided me the pain if you had preserved the coolness and reflection of which you are capable. It must only result from a first movement of ill temper, that you attribute to me low motives, humiliating to myself, drawn from my applications and expressions. In the first place, Sir, I had no other object in wishing to execute the bust of Mr. Franklin, than the glory of transmitting to the future the portrait of so great a man. I was honored in making him a gift of my talents, and I never pretended to any other reward than meriting his patronage. That is why I took the liberty of claiming it on an occasion when I thought I might hope to obtain it. M. Houdon, you say, has *gratuitously* (a word which you please yourself in repeating several times)—has made, I say, the portrait of your august grandfather. This is for me but a further unpleasantness. In granting also this favor to M. Houdon, it was almost like saying to the Public that mine had not given satisfaction, in spite of the success it had. Certainly, if M. Houdon had begun, I should have had the delicacy not to have followed after him. These are honest ways of acting as observed between professionals. You have as well wrongly interpreted the paragraph touching the tomb of General Montgomery. I stated that I had made it for the Glory of the thing, and this is the Truth. Proud in being employed by a state just emerging into Freedom, I contented myself with covering my expenses. I can prove this by the account I have of it. I think that when an artist gives his time and his talents, he can claim credit of having worked for Glory.

There, Sir, you have my misdeeds; condescend to estimate them. I thought that, having acted with so much zeal, I could without showing pretension hope to obtain preference over my fellow artists. Your let-

ter has cruelly undeceived me. You might, however, have spared me the insulting irony of the closing lines. You attribute to me conduct unworthy an upright man and myself. I have never been guided by sordid interests; everything proves it. If I were better known to you, you would have rendered me the justice I deserve, and I am sure that, following your goodness of heart, you will regret having attributed to me feelings I never had.

This seems to have closed the correspondence between Caffieri and William Temple Franklin, but among the Franklin papers there is a "Copy of a letter from Caffieri to one of his friends," which, from the dates mentioned in it, "November, 1783," and "forgotten for eighteen months" (which would bring it to May, 1785), as well as its subject, would seem to have been called forth by the preceding correspondence. As part of the *res gestæ,* we give it:

After the interest, Sir, that you have always been so good as to show me, I feel that I should give you an account of what passed between Mr. Franklin, Jr., and myself. I confess that I was not expecting such a discussion, and as I consider that an honorable man owes it to himself to prevent the attacks of calumny, I take the liberty of enclosing with this letter the copy of that of Mr. Franklin, Jr., and those which I was obliged to write him, being prevented from going out by a cold. I pray you as a favor to look them over and to communicate their contents to Mad. ——, that she may know the truth. I venture to add the assurance of my respect. You will see, Sir, and she will be able to judge, if my fervor, my zeal and my conduct deserved so hard an answer. I could call it by a stronger term. It is essential that you should make yourself familiar with the facts about the Bust of which there is a question.

In the month of November, 1783, Mr. Franklin asked me for a bust of his distinguished grandfather that he wished to send to America. I had it taken to M. de Lorme's for packing. This bust was forgotten for 18 months and Mr. Franklin, Jr., having inquired for it of M. de Lorme in the month of March last, it was found to have disappeared, which gave him occasion to have me written to by his Clerk. You will find the copy of that letter, which I beg of you to keep with the others as an authentic proof of my conduct. Jealous to preserve the esteem in which I stand with you, I wish to show you that I am worthy of its continuance. Mr. Franklin should, without doubt, have been more just toward an honest man, and not wound him in the most vital point, his honor.

Such a continuing broadside of importunity and complaint would be almost enough to ruffle even the equanimity of the philosopher Franklin, as we have seen it did ruffle his grandson, and two letters that were finally discovered, addressed to him, did accomplish it. They are dated respectively June 10 and 15, 1785, the last one filled with the plaint that Franklin first answered, and then erased, in his letter of June 20, given above. Here, then, was the *unknown sculptor* discovered; he whose "two obliging letters" Dr. Franklin, with humorous satire, acknowledged among the last before leaving Paris, and which are now for the first time printed. Translated, they are as follows:

June 10, 1785.

Various occupations deprive me of the advantage of paying my respects and wishing you health and a prosperous voyage. The period during which I have had the honor of your acquaintance will remain for me an unforgetable event. I shall always Glory in having known a man

so rare by his virtues, his enlightenment and his merit. Following the directions of the note you addressed to me, I have had two of your busts in plaster put in proper repair; you may, when you like, send for them.

June 15th he wrote:

I have been assiduous in making the repairs myself to the two busts you asked me for, and they are in condition to be conveyed wherever you may desire. I should have much preferred, if multiplied occupations had not deprived me of the pleasure, of visiting you in person to pay my homage and to wish you good health and a happy voyage. I shall never forget the honor of your acquaintance, and I shall always congratulate myself on having been led to make the portrait of a man as rare by his virtues as by his merits, and whose works will go down to the most distant posterity. If my services in America could have been to your liking, I should have been most eager to accompany you, but you take with you one of my fellow artists, which is reason for me to hold my peace. I am ignorant of the art of supplanting any one, although frequently having experienced it at the hands of others. I had the honor of writing you on Wednesday last; not having received any reply, I feared that my letter might have miscarried.

Here was the hidden truth unmasked, and this discovery was of course a clean annihilation of all claims for Ceracchi to the authorship of a bust of Franklin; a claim that we do not know or believe was ever made by Ceracchi for himself, but doubtless arose from the fact that Ceracchi, who visited this country and resided here for some time between 1791 and 1795, and made busts of Washington, Hamilton and others, was the only sculptor, aside from Houdon, whose name was familiar to our people, and thus his name

became popularly attached to the bust of Franklin by Caffieri, whose name was not then known here any better than it is now.

From these and other letters of Caffieri in the great Franklin collection at the American Philosophical Society, it would appear that not less than six of his busts of Franklin passed through Franklin's own hands, and one at least was destined for this country. December 9, 1777, Caffieri sent a note to Franklin, accompanying a bust as a present to William Temple Franklin, which he endorsed, "Caffieri with a *Burst* as a present." Whether this was a slip or a pleasantry, it is difficult to tell when dealing with a professional humorist. This letter has a postscript of some interest: "I reiterate my injunction that it shall not be permitted to allow copies of any kind to be made of this portrait. If any one should desire to see it, they have only to address themselves to me." On March 17 he wrote, evidently to William Temple Franklin, "I have had the Bust of M. Franklin packed up"; and two days later, "The box is ready to despatch. You may have it taken when it suits your convenience. Here is the memorandum and a note of how it should be unpacked, which it is needful to send to America." This undoubtedly refers to a bust intended for Franklin's daughter, Mrs. Bache, as she wrote to William Temple Franklin from Philadelphia, March 29, 1780, "I am much mortified at not receiving the Bust. I was at a loss to understand the directions for unpacking." June 16 Caffieri writes to the same, "Here are the two Busts of M. Franklin that you have desired of me, to which I have given a

coating of wax, mixed with spirits of Turpentine, rendering them hard and brilliant. The Bust I have had packed and these two bring it to four Louis each, making the total twelve Louis"; and on October 29, 1783, covering a copy of his letter to Dr. Franklin of the same date, "I beg to remind you that I have the mould of M. Franklin's portrait and that I can make as many as may be desired."

Whether any one of these busts ever reached America and has survived the ravages of time and yet exists, we do not know, as we do not know a single bust of Franklin, in this country, indubitably ear-marked "by Caffieri." But the letter of Franklin to the so long "unknown sculptor" directed him "to deliver one of the Busts to M. le Roy, of the Academy of Sciences." This was a clue to the possible finding of an unquestionable bust of Franklin by Caffieri not to be lost, and an inquiry at the Institute of France, of which the Academy of Sciences is an integral part, found the identical bust that Franklin had presented, with the incised signature, *"fait par J. J. Caffieri en 1777."* Photographs that I had made of this bust, in the Institute, in profile, three-quarter and full face, made it certain that the Caffieri bust of Franklin was the type heretofore known as the Ceracchi bust, and transferred the name of Jean Jacques Caffieri to the busts that had been for a century attributed to Giuseppe Ceracchi.

This was no great surprise to me, for, except upon the hypothesis that Franklin's letter of June 20, 1785, was addressed to Ceracchi, I had never been able to bring Franklin and Ceracchi together, or

even in the same place at the same time, at the period represented in this bust, a very important incident to enable a sculptor to model a bust from life. And yet I can hardly be accused as blameworthy for having tripped into the pitfall, when a record of the false tradition was made as early as "July 8, 1811," on which date the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts bought from one Simon Chaudron for $120 the "Bust of Benjamin Franklin by Cerraci" it now owns. At that time there were scores of persons alive who had known well both Franklin and Ceracchi, among them no less a personage than George Clymer, the president of the institution named, who had been Franklin's colleague in Congress and with him had signed the Declaration of Independence. If this error could be committed so early, it is not surprising that it should live so long.

The portraits of Franklin by Caffieri and by Houdon are much alike, as it is only natural they should be, modeled as they were by two skilful artists only a year apart. Therefore, to typify them it is necessary to note the direction of the eyes and the details of dress, which are markedly different in the two busts, and by noting these differences it is impossible to confuse one bust with the other and misname the artist of either. The type of the Caffieri bust of Franklin can be defined as having the eyes directed to the front and with a loose-twisted neck-cloth, or jabot, hanging down outside the waistcoat, while the type of the Houdon bust has the eyes slightly elevated, directed to left, and a waistcoat buttoned, well up, with one button, and inside the waistcoat a straight neck-cloth around

the throat. These distinctions it is indispensable to bear in mind, as only by neglecting them is it possible to confuse the bust by Caffieri with the bust by Houdon.

What seems more than odd is that although, as I have said, I know not a single bust of Franklin in this country bearing the name of Caffieri, the busts of Franklin that are most generally seen here are of the Caffieri type, having the loose neck-cloth. This is chiefly due to the fact that all of the busts of either type are merely copies, which also accounts for variations found in pose and details. Not only were there early importations from Italy of busts of Franklin, but at the beginning of the last century advertisements appeared in the Philadelphia newspapers of James Traquair, a stone-cutter, offering for sale busts of Washington, Franklin, Hamilton and William Penn, either "in the best carara marble or in Italian or Pennsylvania marble." Traquair employed to do this work John Dixey, an Irishman of some ability as a sculptor, and Giuseppe Jardella, a skilful Italian carver who had been brought over to America to carve the embellishments for the great mansion being built in Philadelphia for Robert Morris, the illustrious financier of the American Revolution, for the marble work of which Traquair had the contract. Upon Morris's bankruptcy and the abandonment of his "Folly," as the mansion was called, Jardella and Dixey were employed to carve busts, and Traquair presented to the Pennsylvania Hospital busts of Penn and of Washington in Pennsylvania marble, and to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine

Arts, in 1810, busts of Washington and of Hamilton; while the bust of Franklin purchased by the Academy the next year as "by Cerraci" doubtless came from the same factory after Traquair's death, which occurred April 15, 1811.[1] Mr. Lorado Taft, in writing of this last-named bust of Franklin, builded wiser than he knew. Speaking of Ceracchi,[2] he says:

> Two marble busts attributed to him may be seen in the Pennsylvania Academy: a "Hamilton" and a "Franklin," both of which are weak. The first is a copy, however, by John Dixey, and it is likely that the more glaring defects of the second—such as the hair carved in square ropes—are due to another less skilful hand. However, the pose and expression, which are undoubtedly Ceracchi's, do scant justice to the dignity of the subjects.

How different would Mr. Taft's criticism have been upon Ceracchi's work had he known the superb original of Hamilton in the Lenox Library, New York!

We have now given for the first time the true history of the only two busts of Franklin, assumedly modeled from life, that we know, —the one by Caffieri, of 1777, and that by Houdon, of 1778; and we have laid down immutable rules for distinguishing these two famous busts. We have shown that there is no bust of Franklin by Ceracchi, who for a century has been credited with the bust by Caffieri. We have shown that Franklin's letter "to a discontented artist, whose name is not preserved," was written to Jean Jacques

[1] Westcott's "History of Philadelphia," chapters 417 and 808.
[2] "History of American Sculpture," p. 19.

Caffieri, and we have identified Caffieri's work by the bust of Franklin delivered by Caffieri to M. le Roy, on the order of Franklin given in this very letter. We have learned how Franklin and Caffieri became acquainted, through the monument ordered by Congress for General Montgomery, and how, taking advantage of the opportunity, Caffieri was "the first to seize on Franklin"[1] and model and exhibit his bust, which was purchased out of the Salon "pour la Direction des Bâtiments." Every link of the chain is perfect.

We do not know, however, what has become of the bust that was exhibited at the Salon and acquired by the King. As early as August, 1780, Pierre, the director of the Academy of Fine Arts and first painter to the King, informs us that "M. Caffieri has delivered, something like two years past, the terra-cotta portrait of M. Franck-lin. This work was valued at 500 livres, but as *its whereabouts are unknown,* the amount has not been paid."[2] That source of data upon every subject happening in France during the period it covers, the "Mémoires Secrets," has a word to say on Caffieri's Franklin:[3]

This bust shows us a philanthropist seeking a remedy for the ills of his country. One witnesses his soul aroused in indignation, portrayed in his countenance, altering its benignity. It appears as if the sculptor had sketched it when receiving the order for the tomb of a general, which, from the details furnished, it is evident is intended for America.

[1] Dilke, "French Architects and Sculptors of the XVIII Century," p. 119.
[2] Guiffrey's "Les Caffieris," p. 241. [3] Vol. IX, p. 49.

While Houdon's bust, when exhibited two years later, calls from Grimm the exclamation, "What elevation of thought is seen in the bust of the legislator of the New World!"

To the superficial observer it may seem as though too much space has been given to Caffieri in a work upon Jean Antoine Houdon. But it will be seen how much they had to do with each other, how closely interwoven were their professional careers. Délerot and Legrelle, in their monograph on Houdon (p. 113), say:

> Franklin, Molière and J. J. Rousseau are the three great names that really belonged to this exhibition [1779] . . . . The bust of Franklin had already been executed two years previously in plaster by Caffieri. It would seem as if Franklin had been but half satisfied by this first production, seeing that he addressed himself to Houdon, as to a Judge sitting in a court of last resort, to correct the errors of a less able or inferior one. His confidence in Houdon was not misplaced, and the latter discovered how to give to his physiognomy an expression of great elevation and shrewdness, a characterization of nobility devoid of stiffness, of simplicity and moderation free from affectation of any sort. Franklin ought to have been satisfied this time, and in fact he was; we shall soon find proof of his admiration and gratitude.

Upon this Guiffrey says:[1]

> It is known that Houdon had as well executed a portrait of the illustrious savant. Houdon's work, also in terra-cotta, was exhibited in 1779. The two artists were more than once to encounter each other in the same field, and this rivalry, of which we shall have frequent occasion to speak, excited an inward animosity, showing itself in various unpleasant ways.

[1] "Les Caffieris," p. 243.

It must be recognized that contemporary opinion appears to have given the preference to Houdon, and posterity, more impartial, has confirmed this opinion. Perhaps the incontestable and more productive talent of Houdon caused an unmerited prejudice against his rival, and Caffieri showed himself too sensitive of the injury he felt in the success of a younger fellow-artist; and the relations of the two, which had begun amicably, even affectionately, underwent a marked change owing to this continuous rivalry . . . a rivalry that was not long in changing the friendship of youth into violent animosity and implacable jealousy.

Guiffrey then goes on to say that Délerot and Legrelle think that

. . . the bust of Franklin by Caffieri could have had but little success, as, two years afterward, Houdon was charged with the execution of a fresh portrait of the illustrious man. This seems to be a very forced meaning to give to so simple a fact. That two artists of equal talent, both in search of models calculated to attract public attention, should have crossed each other's paths in this instance as in others, and exhibited likenesses of the same distinguished people at the same time, seems only natural.

Guiffrey's view on this point is, of course, the only reasonable and tenable one, and that of Délerot and Legrelle simply absurd and regrettable, as their client was too big a man to need any such fatuous special pleading, while the facts as we have developed them disprove the hypothesis upon which they builded. Franklin did not employ either Caffieri or Houdon to model his bust. They each did it "gratuitously." Indeed, the opening paragraph of a letter from Houdon to some unknown person in the American Philosophical Society, which was doubtless sent to Franklin for

information and preserved by him, would seem to negative the possibility that Franklin had sat to Houdon for his bust, and we have no proof that he did. Here, in this letter, we have Houdon's own statement that he has just then, *in 1783, been presented to Franklin.* His words will bear no other interpretation or explanation, and it is hardly conceivable, had Franklin sat to Houdon for his bust in 1778, that five years later Houdon would need to be formally presented to the simple-minded, easily accessible Franklin. We give the letter and leave it for each one to draw his own conclusion.

PARIS, 8th Novbr., 1783.

Sir:

The day after you had the kindness to present me to Dr. Franklin, I called at your domicile to thank your Son for all his kindness and to express my recognition of the debt I am under to you; at the same time to inform you that M. Bufon proposed to carry, himself, to Dr. Franklin the book in question touching the mould of Louis XV. But as I fear that the multitudinous occupations of M. Bufon may much delay him, if you will permit it and judge it appropriate to pass over to him mine, while awaiting the one that is to be given him as his own property, I then beg you to send it, in order that this celebrated man may suffer no delay in the wish he has to study a work of that kind. It will be another incentive for obliging me and increasing the ground of my gratitude. I am, Sir, with respect, etc.,

HOUDON.

So far as the facts bear upon Franklin's personal opinion upon either bust, the evidence would be overwhelming in favor of Caffieri's, as we have proof that the philosopher-statesman ordered at

least five busts from Caffieri, while we have nothing to show that he ordered even one from Houdon, and this in the face of the evidence we have that Houdon presented him with four of his, "gratuitously." The "proof" that Délerot and Legrelle say "we shall soon find"—that Franklin was "satisfied" with Houdon's bust—is nowhere exhibited in their monograph, as the language used indicates it is. My own feeling has always leaned toward the Caffieri bust, or, as we knew it for so long, the Ceracchi. It is indeed the head of a philosopher, and much finer in character than the one by Houdon, which supports the presumption that Houdon's was not from life sittings. I cannot understand Houdon's idea in giving the eyes, in his bust of Franklin, the unnatural direction that they have; particularly as he was noted for his marvelous skill in the modeling of eyes, and the eyes in this bust are most skilfully modeled, but they have a restless energy that one does not expect to find in a jovial philosopher of seventy-two. On this point Metra writes:[1]

> M. d'Alembert . . . presented to the Academy a superb bust of the author of "Zaïre," by Houdon, to whose house all Paris goes to see the busts of J. J. Rousseau, of Mr. Franklin, and of M. d'Alembert. One has no idea of the striking resemblances of these portraits. M. Houdon has a manner of his own for rendering eyes. Never has sculpture in this direction been carried so far. It is to me superior to painting.

In justice all around, it must be admitted, however, that one labors under great disadvantage in judging any piece of sculpture,

[1] "Correspondance Secrete," November 14, 1778, Vol. III, p. 117.

FRANKLIN BY HOUDON

and particularly a portrait, a disadvantage shared in equally by the sculptor, for it is impossible to know just how the modeler left his work. What we get is always second-hand, and sometimes third- or fourth-hand. In this respect the sculptor's practice of his art differs materially from the painter's. The painter's work is all the product of his own hand, from the preliminary sketch to the finished picture, and is essentially an original work. Not so with the sculptor's work. He makes his own sketches, fashions with his own hand his creation out of plastic clay, and then turns his original model over to another who makes a mould and produces a cast in plaster or in metal. Or, if the work is to be perpetuated in stone, an ordinary stone-cutter rough-hews the block and then hands it to a more skilful cutter, often a man of talent not far inferior to his employer, who shapes it into the likeness of the model or really carves it in stone, also enlarging or diminishing it, if this is required. Finally, the artist gives some finishing touches with his chisel, but the result cannot be called "an original work," in the sense that a painting may be so called. The clay model is the original creation of the artist's brain and hand, which unfortunately, not being permanent, is lost as soon as moulded, so that the cast, being almost a facsimile of the original model, is far more valuable and reliable than the copy in stone.

We are familiar with three busts of Franklin in this country that are signed and dated, "houdon f—1778." One is a plaster cast in the Boston Athenæum, that was given by Houdon to Thomas Jeffer-

son; another is a marble in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which belonged originally to Dr. Samuel Bard, a contemporary and friend of Franklin; and the third is a bronze, under life size, that came from Paris and is owned by Mr. Joseph Y. Jeanes, of Philadelphia. Of these, the plaster cast is unquestionably the most natural, and doubtless, for the reasons we have given, nearest to the original clay model as it left the sculptor's hands. A signed bust of Franklin by Houdon, in "plâtre teinté," belonging to M. Lucien Faucou, of Paris, was exhibited in the Pavillon National de la République Française, at the Chicago Exposition, in 1893; another is in the Louvre; yet another is in the Museum at Angers; and one belongs to Mr. Edward Tuck, of Paris.

In 1802 (January 20) Dupont de Nemours wrote from New York to Jefferson:[1]

> Houdon has left in America a very fine bust of Benjamin Franklin, which is now at my house. This bust is in marble, is worth 100 Louis of our money, equalling about 480 dollars. Nothing would be more appropriate than for the nation to place it in your Capitol (Va.), and Houdon, to whom Virginia still owes a thousand crowns on the statue of Washington, stands in real need of the money.

Jefferson sent this extract to James Monroe, then Governor of Virginia,[2] but Monroe did not think he was authorized to purchase

[1] Jefferson MS. Correspondence, Library of Congress.

[2] Letter, Jefferson to Monroe, February 28, 1802. Dreer Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Society.

the bust without the sanction of the legislature,[1] and Jefferson so informed Dupont.[2] Virginia did not buy the bust, and we do not know what became of it. May it not be the one now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the only Houdon bust of Franklin in marble that we know?

Again, in the Salon of 1791, Houdon exhibited a bust of Franklin, which has given color to the tradition that the sculptor, when in Philadelphia in 1785, modeled a second bust of Franklin; but we have not been able to find any evidence that he made more than the one bust of him, that of 1778. Any other view seems also to be negatived by Délerot and Legrelle, who say (p. 189):

> The year 1791 proved a revolutionary period for the public exhibitions, introducing plebeian art to the honors of the Salon. Until then the academical aristocracy were solely permitted to exhibit their works at the palace of the Louvre. A decree by the National Assembly, dated August 21, 1791, suppressed this last privilege and this last aristocracy, leaving the public voice the care of very quickly reëstablishing it through vote and criticism. Equality at the Salon was a mere chimerical hope. Here were to be found by Houdon a repetition in bronze of his Winter; a plaster bust of a female; some heads of children, young girls; and *former busts,* such as those of Voltaire, La Fayette and Franklin.

Of course this is not definitive, as the La Fayette was not the "former bust," but a new one.

[1] Hamilton's Monroe, Vol. III, p. 339.

[2] Letter from Jefferson, April 30, 1802, in possession of General Henry A. Dupont, Winterthur, Del.

Montaiglon and Duplessis, in writing of Houdon's bust of Franklin, say (p. 241):

Houdon could not fail to feel the attraction that seemed to draw all France towards this Sage and Savant from another hemisphere, and he must have been happy in reproducing the venerable head of this old man, beautiful from its intelligence and honesty. He succeeded in it perfectly, and the bust of him that he has left to us is one of his finest and most simple. This bust is the man himself, reflective, calm, benevolent, smiling, and he makes us understand the man as clearly as his writings do. It had great success, and for an inscription Turgot penned the following lines: *"Eripuit cælo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis."*[1]

But the last and most interesting word on the subject, written in his seventieth year, comes from the foremost of living sculptors, Auguste Rodin, who is a great admirer of Houdon, and deserves special consideration coming from such a source. Rodin, wishing to show that the portrait-busts by Houdon are like written memoirs of their subjects, and that "period, race, profession, personal character, all is there indicated," wrote this curious analysis of the bust of Franklin:

A heavy appearance, full hanging cheeks; there is the former workman. Long apostolic hair, a beneficent good-will; here is the popular moralizer, Poor-man Richard. A large obstinate forehead, bent forward; evidence of Franklin's determination, of which proof lies in his self-instruction, self-support, becoming an eminent Savant and further succeeding in emancipating his country. Astuteness in the eyes and at the

[1] These lines were first used on a terra-cotta medallion of Franklin by Nini, 1778. *Vide* "McClure's Magazine," March, 1897, p. 453.

corners of the mouth. Houdon was not deceived by the general massiveness, but he detected the hard common-sense of the successful calculator amassing a fortune, the wary diplomat who compassed the secrets of English diplomacy. Behold, all alive, one of the ancestors of modern America![1]

The late Laurence Hutton[2] made some very wild statements in regard to Houdon's bust of Franklin and a mask of his face that he claimed to have. These were mere assumptions, wholly unsupported by any authority, as Mr. Hutton applied to me for information on the subject, and when I could not give him what he wanted, he applied to a great-granddaughter of Franklin,[3] who in turn applied to me, for him, with necessarily like result. This is merely noted in closing, as a warning to the wary.[4]

[1] "La Liberté," Paris, August 12, 1910.

[2] "Portraits in Plaster," p. 241.

[3] Miss Agnes Irwin, late Dean of Radcliffe College.

[4] The following note in Scharf and Westcott's "History of Philadelphia," Vol. II, p. 1066, I have been unable to verify: "The original terra-cotta models of the busts of Washington and Franklin, made by Houdon in Philadelphia, were taken to Paris. They were in the possession of M. Walfredin, nephew of Diderot, in 1869–70. After his death they were sold to M. de Montbrison." Busts of Washington and of Franklin that belonged to M. Walferdin were bequeathed by him to the Louvre, where they now are. Whether he had others, of course not made in Philadelphia, that were sold after his death, I have been unable to ascertain.

CHAPTER VI

1779

MOLIÈRE—ROUSSEAU—MIRABEAU— DEATH-MASKS OF ROUSSEAU AND MIRABEAU

THE bust of Molière, it may be remembered, is mentioned as being exhibited in Houdon's studio when visitors were going there to see the bust of Voltaire. The "Secret Memoirs," under date of April 19, 1778, say: "There has been on view for some time in M. Houdon's studio a bust of Molière, executed for the foyer of the Comédie-Française. It is very fine." As the paragraph just quoted shows, it was executed on an order from the members of the Comédie, whose plan originally had been to have a *statue* made of the great dramatist. The proceeds of a performance on the centenary of Molière's death, however, falling below the sum that had been expected, the project for this statue necessarily underwent a modification, and on motion of Lekain a bust was decided on.[1]

Here Houdon's task was a very different one from any he had before attempted: not the faithful portrayal of a living model, in

[1] M. Taschereau, "Vie de Molière," notes.

which branch of art he had become supreme, but the creation from accepted portraits of an idealized resemblance. It was natural, from the fame and character of Molière, to anticipate that public expectation would not be satisfied with a mere rendition of the poet's general aspect, but that the hidden fires of his genius should in some way be brought out and typified in the bust.

This task Houdon accomplished with great éclat, artists and public alike joining in praising his creation. "The genius for observation of this great man [Molière] is expressed with a force, a nobleness, that no painter has ever approached. His brow carries an expression of profound meditation. His glance (M. Houdon is perhaps the first sculptor who has known how to model eyes)—his glance dives deep into the heart," writes Baron Grimm.[1] In fact, among French writers we find this work placed upon a very high plane, indeed, certain critics going so far as to rank it as "one of the finest inspirations in iconic statuary."[2]

A description of the bust is as follows: "The head of the noble thinker, framed in its long, floating hair, the neck bared and a scarf loosely knotted about it, is carried forward with an expression of suppressed ardor and reflection. The poet no longer feels his identity, for he sees, he listens to his genius as it speaks to him; the eye is observant, the nostrils are dilated from the fullness of thought within; the mouth, fine and elegant, is slightly open, but no word

[1] Grimm-Diderot Correspondance, Vol. XII (1880), p. 104.
[2] Délerot and Legrelle, p. 115.

escapes it; and the whole head, as deeply poetical as it is human, sparkles with the powerful and pure reflection of a deep inspiration."[1]

This bust, which in 1779 was merely of plaster, was promptly executed in marble, and a considerable number of repetitions gave it wide currency. The Comédie-Française must undoubtedly have obtained the first, the one now in its collection and prominently placed in the foyer of the theatre. As far back as 1783 we find traces of a slight controversy as to the prominent place given this bust of Molière. The "Secret Memoirs"[2] say, speaking of some changes made in the interior of the Comédie: "It is a pity that the mantelpiece appears somewhat mean for its surroundings. Busts of different French dramatic authors ornament and enrich it; but it is not understood why the Comedians, arrogating the right to decide the leadership among themselves, have judged it appropriate to place Molière [the one by Houdon] much higher than the rest, and by itself, as if dominating all the others." It seems that Préville, a member of the Comédie and a very celebrated actor, had been one of the chief instigators in the movement. Voltaire's statue was in the same hallway, and Préville had epigrammatically announced "that it was not proper to present a tragic author full length where the Father of Comedy was shown only in a bust." All

[1] Montaiglon and Duplessis, p. 244.

[2] Vol. XXII, pp. 360, 361. The terra-cotta of Molière's bust belonged to Mme. Paul Lacroix; it figured at the Salon of 1779. Grimm-Diderot Correspondance (1880), Vol. XII, p. 103, *n.*

this, of course, has been changed long since, and Voltaire's image holds undisputed sway as the central and dominating figure in the more modern foyer.

Another replica of the Molière bust found its way to the Académie Française. D'Alembert had engraved on this one a celebrated inscription; it is a witty line of Saurin's: "Nothing is wanting to *his* fame; he was lacking for *ours*"—a graceful tribute to Molière's memory, and a palpable allusion to his not having been admitted a member of the Academy in his lifetime.

A third bust is said to have been placed on the house in which Molière was born in Paris, at No. 3 Rue de la Tonnellerie, marked by an inscription: "J. B. Poquelin de Molière was born in this house the 15th of January, 1620." This was at a time before the Revolution, when the premises were occupied by an old-clothes dealer who possessed a great veneration for the memory of the sublime Poquelin. A few years afterward, however, another old-clothes broker succeeded the one just mentioned. He undertook to repaint the front of his shop, and deemed it needful to include Molière's bust in this operation. So this masterpiece of Houdon's was daubed over with *black* paint and the insignia, "At the sign of the Black Head," set up over it!

This was a little too much, even in Revolutionary times, and the police authorities ordered the illiterate broker to restore matters to their original state. Later, the house having been sold and the façade of it reconstructed, another bust of Molière, sculptured by

Coyzevox, was put in the place of the one by Houdon so shamefully disfigured.[1]

The Ducal Museum at Gotha possesses a fine gypsum facsimile of the marble bust of Molière in the foyer of the Comédie.

Following hard upon the death of Voltaire in Paris came the news of Rousseau's demise at Ermenonville.[2] He was staying in the house of M. de Girardin when the end came. Houdon, with that ardor which distinguished him in his art, hastened to Ermenonville. La Harpe, in his Correspondance,[3] says: "The sculptor Houdon has gone at once to take a model of Rousseau at Ermenonville, which leads one to think that death has not disfigured him." There was much divergence of opinion as to the manner of Rousseau's death, but it is not our purpose to enter largely into the discussion of that question. A good many years after the event a friend of Rousseau's, Olivier Corancez, in writing of him, made the statement that "M. Girardin, Mme. Rousseau and *M. Houdon,* sculptor, all bear testimony to a hole in the forehead, caused by a fall in the *garde-robe* [dressing-room]. This hole was so deep that M. Houdon related to me himself having had difficulty in filling up the cavity." Later, Houdon formally contradicted this assertion in a letter which we shall reproduce. The letter is addressed to M.

[1] "Dictionnaire de la France," Tome III, p. 205.

[2] According to Montaiglon and Duplessis, the news was received July 3, 1778; according to Délerot and Legrelle, July 4, 1778.

[3] Letter 89, Vol. XI, p. 62.

Petitain, then engaged on an edition of Rousseau,[1] and runs as follows:

8 March, 1819.

Sir:

I have delayed writing for the reason that I wished to look up and re-examine afresh the mask of J. J. Rousseau that I took of him immediately following his decease. As a result of this fresh examination, I find that the contusion showing in the forehead is evidently the result of a severe blow, not producing the effect of a hole. I can readily believe that the skin was injured; nevertheless, one can perfectly trace the uninterrupted lines of wrinkles where the contusion shows.

As to the work of M. Corancez, I had no knowledge of it, and as to the view he attributes to me, I never held it, nor could I have held it. To any one familiar with such matters, it will be clear that it is a physical impossibility I should have difficulty in filling up a space occasioned by a cavity.

If these details should avail you, Sir, you are at liberty to make such use of them as you may desire.

I have the honor, etc.,

HOUDON.

At a recent period, in order to set at rest a lingering doubt whether Rousseau had really been buried in the Panthéon, a commission was appointed by the French government to determine the fact. Acting under the authority conferred, this commission made an investigation, and in the account given in the newspapers of the day we find as follows:

[1] Rousseau's Works, edited by M. Louis Germain Petitain. Paris, 1819. Appendix to the Confessions, Vol. III, pp. 178, 179.

"The Rousseau vault was next entered. The wooden sarcophagus was raised in the same manner as that of Voltaire. Within was a great case of lead, and upon it were these words:

"Ci-gît Rousseau
Anno 1778"

Then follows a description of the body as it appeared within, and, to quote again, "M. Berthelot took the skull in his hands. . . . But what was most important was that the skull bore no trace of fracture or perforation, thus disproving the long-believed story that Rousseau committed suicide by blowing out his brains with a pistol."

Montaiglon and Duplessis say, quoting Quérard[1] in support of the statement, that the original mould referred to in Houdon's letter, just given, as having been taken by the sculptor from the dead man's face, "was purchased for 1800 francs in 1822 by M. Gossuin, Jr." But this conflicts with the entry in the Sale Catalogue of Houdon's effects in 1828, six years later, as follows:

Plaster mask moulded on the face of J. J. Rousseau a few hours after his death. This precious impression, which is unique, was made by M. Houdon, on the invitation of the late Count de Girardin, at whose house the Philosopher died, on the 3d of July, 1778.

The terra-cotta bust exhibited at the Salon of 1779 was catalogued as belonging to the Marquis de Girardin. It was very

[1] "France Littéraire," VIII, 230.

highly praised as a likeness and a work of art. The "Mémoires Secrets" of that year say of it: "What fire in this last portrait, whose piercing glance seems to dive into the innermost recesses of the human heart! From a certain point of view, the illusion is so complete and the glance of the eye so direct and lively, that the bust seems animated, and one feels like avoiding its gaze."

This is compared by one writer with the description of Rousseau in life, given by Mme. de Genlis in her "Memoirs": "He had small, deep-sunken eyes, but *most piercing, and which seemed to penetrate* and divine the inmost thought of the one he was addressing; it seemed to me that he would have discovered at once a falsehood or a prevarication."[1]

Houdon complained very bitterly of the pirating of his likeness made of Rousseau, for it was endlessly reproduced. "The likeness of J. J. Rousseau," he asserted with much warmth, "is my property." He indignantly protested against "robberies which had enriched the thieves" and had proven as detrimental to his fame as injurious to his pocket. As one writer says, "This audacious counterfeiting and the multiplicity of the repetitions, so sought after in spite of their imperfections and the formal disavowal of the author himself, are, after all, an indirect panegyric upon Houdon's celebrity."[1]

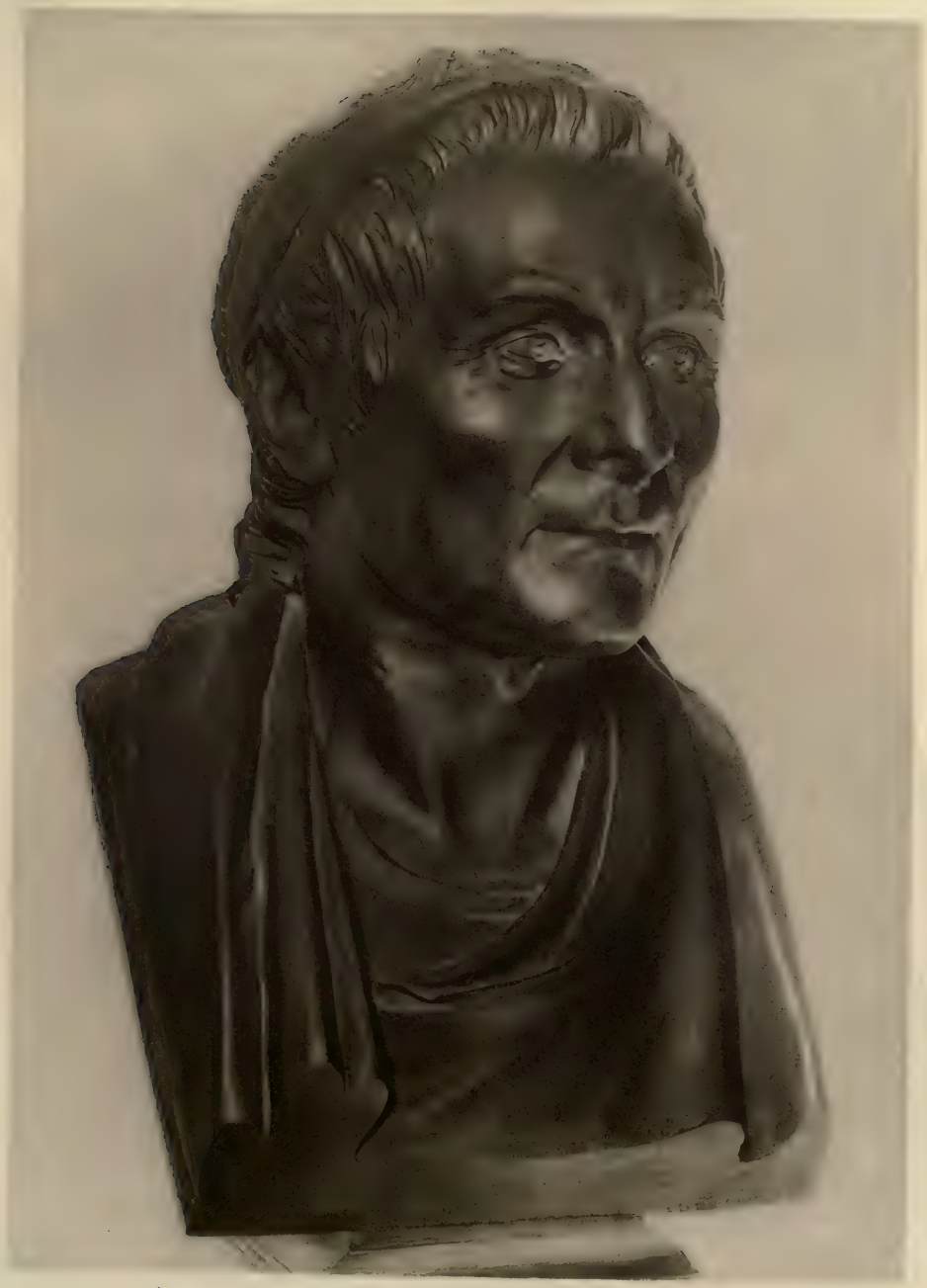
The best known busts now extant are the one at the Louvre

[1] "Memoirs of Mme. de Genlis," Vol. II, pp. 8, 9.
[2] Délerot and Legrelle, p. 117.

(bronze), the one at the Royal Library at Versailles (terra-cotta), and the one at the Museum in Gotha (gypsum bronzed), signed "Houdon, 1778." There seems also to have been a very celebrated one in the possession of a M. Duriez, Sr., who obtained it from a descendant of M. Le Grand de Sérant, himself an artist and friend of Houdon's, to whom Houdon had presented it.

The bronze of the Louvre is not nearly so forceful a likeness as the gypsum bust at Gotha, which is different in many respects. It has the shoulders draped *à l'antique,* and a circlet or ribbon bound about the head, inclosing the hair. It is a smiling head with a somewhat soft expression, and lacks the accent of verisimilitude conveyed in the Gotha bust. Dierks makes an allusion to the "marble original, the whereabouts of which are now unknown";[1] but quotes no authority for a "marble original." The bust exhibited in the Salon of 1779 is catalogued (*No. 220*) as being of "terra-cotta." In the Stephen Girard collection at Girard College, Philadelphia, is a marble bust of Rousseau in precisely the same style as the Gotha gypsum bust.[2] The description of the Duriez bust, given in Montaiglon and Duplessis, applies equally to this one. "Here is the man himself in all truthfulness, and without false arrangement. His head is slightly bowed and looking somewhat to the left; the hair is cut short; and the bust only includes the neck, which is uncovered." It would be interesting to learn the history of the Girard

[1] Houdon's "Leben und Werke," p. 45. Dr. Hermann Dierks, Gotha, 1887.
[2] Can this be the "marble original" of Dierks?



ROUSSEAU

bust; thus far, our efforts to ascertain something about it and its companion, a marble bust of Voltaire *à l'antique,* have not met with success.[1] Houdon made a third bust of Rousseau with full wig, and in the costume of the period, as a companion to a similarly arranged one of Voltaire. A pair of these belonged to the Société des Amis de l'Instruction of Geneva, and are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It is the commonly known bust of Rousseau by Houdon, and in many respects the most characteristic.

Houdon's name is also connected with a once proposed statue to Rousseau. In the enthusiasm of the Revolutionary Convention of 1790, it was decreed that a statue to Rousseau should be erected with the inscription, "From the free French Nation to J. J. Rousseau."

The Commune of Arts, somewhat jealous of established reputations, and especially of those distinguished by membership in the Academy, asked that it be submitted to competition. The committee to whom this was referred, through its president, Camus, addressed a letter to the Academy stating that a decree had been passed to put the statue in competition, and asking the Academy for its advice. On receipt of this letter, the Academy of Painting called a special meeting, held on April 16, 1791.[2] Some members, among whom were Moreau, Boizot and Vincent, maintained that

[1] In the copy of the inventory of Stephen Girard's personal estate, made out in May, 1839, are catalogued, "One marble bust, Voltaire; one ditto, Rousseau; one ditto, Napoleon; and two marble ornaments, all valued at $20."

[2] MSS. of the old Academy Records.

under the circumstances there should be no question of a choice by competition; that Houdon, possessing the only mask moulded, and having made the most lifelike busts of Rousseau, would assure the happy execution of the work, which, if done by another, would have value only if drawn from the proofs and documents in Houdon's possession.

But in spite of these special reasons and the support of the academicians named, besides the excellent argument made by Houdon as to the drawbacks in general of competition,[1] they had little weight with the larger number. At a moment when the Academy was already being attacked, the honor of being consulted had been paid it. What other answer could it make but one conformable to the wish expressed by the committee, and thus avoid the risk of rousing fresh hatred? Commissioners were appointed, ten in number, and on the 23d of April rules for the competition were drawn up and sent to M. Camus in the name of the Academy. The models were to be sixteen inches in height. Houdon, in spite of his own strong disinclination to compete, at the solicitation of his friends made a model also. At what time the competition was judged, and the result of it, do not seem to be ascertainable, but what is certain is that a year later, without our knowing whether Houdon had been selected as a result of the competition or chosen outside of it, the Minister of the Interior communicates to the Session of May 6, 1792:[2] "That, agreeably to the decree which votes a monument

[1] See Appendix "C."

[2] "Moniteur" of Monday, May 7, 1792.

to the memory of Jean Jacques Rousseau, arrangements have been made with M. Houdon, and that this celebrated artist has completed a model which he asks permission to exhibit in a chamber of the Legislative Assembly."

The letter here given, from the original in possession of Mr. Hart, evidently has reference to this very model, and is interesting on that account.

PARIS, April 11, 1792.

Mr. President:

I am in receipt of the letter addressed to me by yourself and the gentlemen composing the Department, on the 7th of this month; I have not ceased occupying myself with the monumental statue of J. J. Rousseau; not only have I corrected my first model but I have constructed another one which I submit to your enlightened judgment; it is designed for being placed against one of the four pillars in the Rotunda of the Panthéon, on the right, a spot which appeared the most appropriate one to M. Quatremere Quincy and to myself. This site necessitates a monument of large size. The size of the one I have the honor to submit a model of is, from the base, between 20 and 25 feet; thus I am in hopes it will produce a proper effect, although a single figure and unaccompanied by any allegorical design, which frequently detracts from the central figure. I send with this a detailed statement of what its cost may be, either in marble or in bronze. I am highly desirous that, in spite of this difference in cost, the decision should be in favor of bronze as being more durable and better adapted to the character of the monument. I have endeavored to figure as low as possible, by only including the actual payments to be made. As to my own fees, the glory of being chosen to execute the first monument voted by the free French nation must suffice. If, from the close economy now required in all disbursements, sufficient

should be found to allow them, as father of a family my duty would be not to refuse, but I do not claim them; I only desire to gain the approbation and regard which have been the incentives to the work of my entire life.

I have the honor to be, with respect, Mr. President,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

HOUDON.

I am not including the expenses of transportation from my studio to the Panthéon, nor the placing [of the statue], because it will be much cheaper, I think, for the Department to employ its own workmen engaged about the premises.

Unfortunately, this is as far as the project ever advanced. In the session of the Convention on September 1, 1795, the deputy Boissy inquired why Rousseau was still without a statue,[1] but his question received no satisfactory answer.

It is perhaps regrettable that Houdon did not have the opportunity of fulfilling his purpose. He was still possessed of all his powers, being but little over fifty years of age, and doubtless such a subject appealed to him very strongly. On the other hand, he had not had the opportunity to study his model as either in the case of Voltaire or of Washington, and while a highly creditable production would no doubt have been forthcoming, it is hardly supposable, as some writers suggest, that a rival for the fame of his masterpiece at the Comédie-Française would have been the result.

This account of the proposed statue to Rousseau brings us chron-

[1] "Moniteur," note in Montaiglon and Duplessis, p. 340.

ologically to Houdon's bust of Mirabeau, exhibited in 1791. This was again to involve our sculptor in the contrarieties of a competition. Mirabeau expired on the 2d of April, 1791. Immediately following his decease, the Abbé Espagnac sought out Houdon to prevail on him to take a death-mask of the noted orator, to which desire Houdon at once yielded. The day following, Sunday, Espagnac communicated what he had done the day before to a society known as the "Friends of the Constitution," of which Mirabeau had been a member, and proposed the ordering of a bust. He very generously offered to subscribe fifty louis (1000 francs) toward its cost. The motion having been carried, the Abbé ascertained the price Houdon asked, which discloses to us what he was generally paid; viz., 3000 francs ($600) for a marble bust, and 4000 francs ($800) for one in bronze.

One account states that, the model having been completed, it was deemed preferable to submit the bust to competition while a decision was pending as to the material to be used, and recourse was again had to the Academy for its advice, which again felt constrained to give in its adhesion to the project. Another version is that Houdon executed the bust, which satisfied the committee, and then an abrupt and inconceivable retraction by the committee followed, by which it was fixed for competition. Houdon, they stated, was an academician, and it was time to put an end to unjust distinctions and to extend to the jealous mediocrity of artists without special gifts the benefits of equality. This might be all very well

for the new found disciples of "Liberté, Égalité et Fraternité," but it was certainly very shabby treatment for an artist of Houdon's fame and character. A further pretext advanced, that the bust was not a good likeness, astonishes naturally, and yet we are not enthusiastic over the Mirabeau bust, and think with Louis Gonze that it does not fulfil one's expectations.

After this unpleasant experience, Houdon published the reflections suggested by it as well as by the Rousseau incident of similar character, embodying at the same time his views on competitions generally,[1] and their influence on art. They have been thought well worthy of preservation, as being applicable at the present day.

[1] Given in Appendix "D."

CHAPTER VII

1780

BUST OF JOHN PAUL JONES—THE QUESTION OF THE IDENTIFICATION OF HIS REMAINS BY HOUDON'S BUST CONSIDERED

TO the Salon of 1781 Houdon made a grand contribution of thirteen pieces, including his two famous life-size statues, in marble, of the Marshal de Tourville, now in the Museum at Versailles, and of Voltaire, "qui devait être placée à l'Académie-Française mais destinée depuis à décorer la nouvelle salle de comédie, rue de Condé." But the item of greatest interest to us among those exhibited is entered, "261. Paul Jones. Buste plâtre teinté, couleur de terre-cuite." This bust of John Paul Jones was modeled by Houdon in the spring of 1780 and so dated under his signature, and has recently attained great significance and importance from the prominent place given to it in the identification of the remains, disinterred in Paris, in April, 1905, as those of the dauntless commander of the *Bonhomme-Richard*. This fact makes this bust of the first consequence and will lead us into an inquiry as to the verification of the find.

Paul Jones was much admired in France even before his great sea-fight. Nearly three weeks before this memorable event, Metra

writes,[1] "The famous Paul Jones is awaited with impatience. The Queen has said, in the last few days, that she wished herself to attach a waving plume to his hat. This was thought charming, and at once orders were given to the court milliner, Mlle. Bertin, for hats à la Paul Jones." But it seems it was six months before Marie Antoinette's wish could be gratified. Baron Grimm writes in May, 1780,[2] "The intrepid Paul Jones has been here [in Paris] several weeks. The Lodge of the Nine Sisters, of which he is a member, engaged M. Houdon to make his bust. This portrait is another masterpiece worthy of the chisel which seems destined to consecrate to immortality illustrious men in every walk of life." It is to the sittings for this bust that Jones alludes in his letter addressed to the Comtesse de la Vendahl, June 7, 1780, "I beseech you to accept the within lock. I am sorry that it is now eighteen inches shorter than it was three months ago. Before I had the honour to see you I wished to comply *with the invitation of my lodge.*"[3]

At this time Paul Jones was in his thirty-third year and the laurels he had won in his action with the *Serapis* were still green. He was received everywhere enthusiastically and with marks of atten-

[1] "Correspondance Secrete," September 5, 1779, Vol. VIII, p. 288.

[2] "Correspondance Littéraire de Grimm et Diderot," Paris, 1880, Vol. XII, p. 394.

[3] Jones MS. Correspondence, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. In the Calendar of John Paul Jones Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., 1903, p. 152, this last passage is epitomized, "hopes to accept the invitation of his lodge *to return to France.*" Not only does the letter not say this, but "the invitation of my lodge" was, clearly, to sit for his bust, for which purpose he had sacrificed the length of his queue, and not "to return to France." He was writing of what had happened, not of what was to happen.

tion. At the opera, to which he was invited, a wreath was arranged over the seat he was to occupy, which, at an appropriate moment, should descend upon his brow; but, forewarned of this bit of theatricalism, he begged that it might be omitted.[1] He was presented at court, given a sword by the King, and decorated with the cross of the Institution of Military Merit, the first time of its award to any one not a Frenchman. Sartines, the French Minister of Marine, wrote from Versailles to "Mr. Hantenydon,"[2] the President of Congress, proposing, in the name of the King, to present Jones with a sword and "to decorate this brave officer with the Cross of Military Merit." At the same time he advised Jones that the decoration had been forwarded to the Minister of France at Philadelphia, the Chevalier de la Luzerne. Jones returned to America, reaching Philadelphia, where Congress was in session, on February 17, 1781, and ten days later Congress expressed its appreciation at the approbation of his Most Christian Majesty of Jones's services, "and that his Majesty's offer of adorning Captain Jones with the Cross of Military Merit is highly agreeable to Congress."[3] In consequence of this action, the Chevalier de la Luzerne gave a fête, on March 21st, to the members of Congress and other persons of consideration, at which he invested Jones with the Order of Merit, which gave him the title of Chevalier, a title which he

[1] "Mémoires Secrets," May 18, 1780, Vol. XV, p. 179.

[2] Samuel Huntingdon.

[3] Journals of Congress, Philadelphia, 1800, Vol. VII, p. 32.

ever after proudly bore. This is the order that appears on the lapel of the coat in Houdon's bust of Jones, the vain little sailor having anticipated the favorable action of Congress by requesting his friend Dr. Bancroft, from L'Orient, in July of 1780,[1] to purchase for him "one of the most fashionable Crosses of Merit of the small size"; as the real cross of the Institution of Military Merit had been sent to the Chevalier de la Luzerne at Philadelphia, and this is how it got upon the bust by Houdon when it did. In this connection it is curious to note that among Jones's effects enumerated in the inventory of his estate were "12 decorations" which it is said were sold.[2]

All of the unquestioned portraits of Paul Jones are of the exact period of the Houdon bust of him, and each one confirms the other by its resemblance to it. These are the miniature by the Comtesse de Bourbon de la Vendahl, the medallion by Jean Martin Rénaud, and the drawings by C. J. Notte and Jean Michel Moreau. Of the last of these, Jones wrote to Dr. Bancroft, September 23, 1780,[3] wishing him to give to Thevenard and to de la Grandville each "one of the stamps done by M. Morau (I know not if I spell the name). I mean the one I sat for when you were once present." In writing of Houdon's bust of Jones, James Barnes, in his study of the personal appearance of Paul Jones,[4] says: "The character and the individuality of the Commander of the *Bonhomme-Richard* are

[1] Jones MS. Correspondence, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
[2] "The Century Magazine" for October, 1905, p. 933.
[3] Jones MS. Correspondence, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
[4] "Appleton's Magazine," June, 1906, p. 107.

JOHN PAUL JONES

portrayed in so wonderful and lifelike a manner that, as we study it, we feel a personal contact with him. Here is the greatest fighting face that has ever been perpetuated in marble, bronze or clay. Yet the determined, bulldog expression is relieved by the suggestion of strong mentality and humor, and, strange to say, the features have, when taken as a whole, an effect of grace and beauty, and more—they have the charm of a remarkable personality."

Jones, it would appear, was perfectly well satisfied with the bust that Houdon made of him, as he presented a copy to Jefferson, for the acceptance of which Jones writes Jefferson a letter of thanks from Paris, February 28, 1786,[1] in which he says, "It has been remarked by professed judges that it does no discredit to the talents of Mr. Houdon." This bust was for many years in the Athenæum at Boston, but has disappeared. The following year Jones sent two busts to Philadelphia, which he intended to present in person to Washington and to Robert Morris upon his return, but he wrote to Morris,[2] "As the moment of my return to America continues uncertain, I beg you will now accept the bust as a mark of my affection."[3]

[1] Sherburne's "Life of Jones," p. 270.

[2] Sands's "Life of Jones," p. 361.

[3] The story told by A. C. Buell, in his fictitious book on Paul Jones, Vol. II, page 15, relative to Louis Philippe seeing this bust of Jones, when he visited the Morris family in the United States, for which statement he gives as authority, "Taylor's Louis Philippe, the Citizen King," is purely imaginative. There is no such book as the one Buell cites. W. Cooke Taylor did publish "Mémoires of the House of Orléans," in which there is necessarily much about "the Citizen King," but Jones is not mentioned or the anecdote referred to; moreover, it was Gouverneur Morris of New York, and not Robert Morris of Philadelphia, with whose family Louis Philippe stayed when in America.

He then adds, showing that the illogical and ridiculous duty upon works of art was a thorn in the side then as it is now, "Mr. Nesbit writes that a duty was demanded on my busts. This, I own, surprises me. They are not merchandise; and I flatter myself that my zeal and exertions for the cause of America will not be requited with such a mark of dishonour. I would rather hear that the busts were broken to pieces than consent that they should be subject to a duty."[1]

Washington showed his appreciation of the gift by keeping Jones's bust in his study at Mount Vernon, and it appears in the inventory of his estate appraised at twenty dollars. Upon its reception, Washington wrote to Jones from Philadelphia, September 2, 1787,[2] "I have received and have forwarded to my house the Bust you did me the honor to present me with, and shall place it with my own." This extreme graciousness fairly overwhelmed Jones, who wrote in acknowledgment,[3] "Your determination to place my Bust with your own confers on me a greater Honor than I ever before received; an Honor which I shall ever be ambitious to merit."

Jones had evidently by this time acquired the bust-giving habit, for a year later he writes to Jefferson[4] from "On board the *Woldi-*

[1] In a MS. "List of Furniture sold by R. M. to Thomas Fitzsimons Esq Phia May 18, 1797," in the autograph of Robert Morris, No. 115 is "Head of Paul Jones in plaster Paris." This was a friendly sale to protect the articles from Morris's creditors.

[2] Washington's Letter-book, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[3] Washington Correspondence, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[4] Sherburne's Jones, pp. 302–304.

mir, before Cozacoff," under date of "29 August–September 9, 1788": "Some of my friends in America did me the honor to ask for my bust. I inclose the names of eight gentlemen to each of whom I promised to send one. You will oblige me much by desiring Mr. Houdon to have them prepared and packed up, two and two; and Mr. Short, to whom I present my respects, will take the trouble to forward them by good opportunities, via Havre-de-Grâce, writing, at the same time, a few words to each of the gentlemen. I shall esteem it a particular favor."

To William Short he wrote:

September 15–26, 1788.

List of Gentlemen to whom Busts are to be sent: General St. Clair and Mr. Ross of Philadelphia; Mr. John Jay, General Irvine, Mr. Secretary Thomson and Colonel Wadsworth of New York; Mr. Maddison and Colonel Carryton of Virginia.

Admiral Paul Jones presents his respectful compliments to Mr. Short and begs the favor of him to forward the eight busts mentioned in the above list by the most direct opportunities from Havre-de-Grâce to America. Mr. Jefferson is wrote to on this subject, and Mr. Houdon, who prepares the busts, will also have them carefully [put] up in four boxes. The Admiral prays Mr. Short to be so obliging as to write a line or two to each of the gentlemen for whom busts are destined.

That each of these busts reached its respective destination seems doubtful in view of Jones's like inquiries of Thomson and of Ross in December, 1789, "I presume you have received my bust, as Mr. Jefferson has forwarded it to you."[1] At all events, only one of these

[1] Sands's "Life of Jones," p. 504, and Hamilton's "Life of Jones," p. 332.

eight busts is identified as being in existence to-day. It is the one presented to General William Irvine, which now belongs to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and from which that more than a century old institution has recently had cast a reproduction in bronze.

Houdon's bust of Paul Jones received the unqualified approval of his contemporaries. Metra writes, July 25, 1780,[1] "All Paris admires the bust of Paul Jones, the resemblance of which is striking"; and when Sherburne, the biographer of Jones, applied to Jefferson and Madison for the best likeness of the Admiral, Madison wrote,[2] "His bust by Houdon is an exact likeness, pourtraying well the characteristic features stamped on the countenance of the original"; and Jefferson wrote,[3] July 2, 1825, "Houdon's bust of him is an excellent likeness. Why have they not taken a side face of him from that? Such an one would be perfect!" This last was the sequel to a criticism on Peale's portrait of Jones, an engraving of which was the frontispiece to Sherburne's book, which, Jefferson said, "I must in truth and candor say does not recall one single feature of his face to my perfect recollection of him."

In January, 1789, Colonel Robert Burton, who had been a member of Congress from North Carolina, which State always claimed Jones as her adopted son, wrote to Governor Johnston,[4] "As those

[1] "Correspondance Secrete," Vol. X, p. 841.
[2] Sherburne's "Life of Jones," April 28, 1825.
[3] Jefferson MS. Correspondence, Library of Congress.
[4] "State Records of North Carolina," Vol. XXI, p. 527.

men who have fought and bled for us in the late contest cannot be held in too high esteem, and as Chevalier John Paul Jones is among the foremost who derived their appointment from this State that deserves to be held in remembrance to the latest Ages, I take the liberty of offering to the State, as a present, through you, its Chief Majistrate, the Bust of that great man and good soldier to perpetuate his memory. If you do me the honour to accept it you will please send me a line." To this the Governor replied, "I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 28th of January, respecting the bust of Chevalier John Paul Jones. I will readily accept it on behalf of the State, and will communicate your letter to the next Assembly, that they may make such order as they think proper." But the printed Journals of the House of Delegates of North Carolina fail to show that the subject was brought up for action. It is not unlikely that Colonel Burton was a little premature in his offer, for more than two years afterward Jones writes to Jefferson from Paris, March 20, 1791,[1] "You will observe that the Empress of Russia has decorated me with the great Order of St. Ann; and I have appeared with that order ever since. I must beg the favor of you to obtain and transmit to me, as soon as possible, the proper authority of the United States for my retaining the honor. . . . I am much obliged by the trouble you took in forwarding, before you left Europe, the busts I had promised to different gentlemen in America. Having lately received a letter from Mr.

[1] Sherburne's "Life of Jones," p. 329.

Burton, a former member of Congress, with whom I had the honor of being acquainted at New York, requesting my bust in behalf of the State of North Carolina, I have ordered Mr. Houdon to prepare and forward it by the first ship from Havre-de-Grâce for Philadelphia; and as that bust will be decorated with the Order of St. Ann on the American uniform, this is one reason why I wish to be authorized by the United States to wear that order. I shall take the liberty of addressing the bust to you, to deliver it to the North Carolina delegates, who will be so good as to forward it to the Governor of that State." Whether this bust, decorated with the order of St. Ann, was ever made and forwarded to this country, is not known, but there is no record of its having been received by the State of North Carolina, and it is not now in the possession of that State.

A few months later Jones presented one to Baron Grimm,[1] who has preserved for us the genesis of the bust. From a passage in Jones's "Journal of the Campaign of the Liman," dated St. Petersburg, July 29, 1789,[2] in which he says, "A Washington, a Franklin, a D'Estaing, a La Fayette think the bust of Paul Jones worthy of being placed side by side with their own," it would seem that he had also made presents of his bust to Franklin, D'Estaing and La Fayette, making sixteen in all that he gave away, and yet of these only the one given to Irvine can be identified as in existence at this

[1] Sands's "Life of Jones," p. 527. [2] Sands's "Life of Jones," p. 469.

day. Two of Houdon's busts of Jones belong to the National Academy of Design, New York, and there was one in the old Boston Museum, which since its extinction has become the property of Mr. C. H. Taylor, Jr., of Boston; but the pedigrees of these three are unknown. Each is signed and dated, "houdon f. 1780." From one of those at the Academy of Design, which came from the old American Academy of Arts, presided over by Colonel Trumbull, twenty reproductions were made in the spring of 1904 under the direction of Mr. Frank D. Millet, and copies in bronze were placed in the Navy Department at Washington and in the Naval Institute at Annapolis; while plaster copies were deposited in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.; the South Kensington Museum, London, England; the National Museum at Berlin; and the Trocadéro Museum in Paris. It was the copy in the Trocadéro Museum that was used in the identification of the exhumed body in Paris. These reproductions are noted here as a warning against future misstatements as to their being originals.

The French experts for the identification of the remains also had the use of a bust known as "the Biron bust of Jones," from the name of its then owner, but which has since passed into the hands of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, of New York, two views of which are reproduced in the commemorative volume on Paul Jones, published by the government. This bust also is attributed to Houdon, an attribution of authorship, judging from the reproductions, I feel quite

sure is apocryphal. Not only does the work lack the breadth, virility and naturalism of Houdon's work, but it lacks also the well known signature of the artist, which was almost always placed on the original works that this master created. I am also clearly convinced that it is not a bust of Paul Jones or of any naval commander, but the bust of some junior officer in the army, the proof of which is found in the bust itself. It is not only wholly unlike the unquestioned bust of Jones by Houdon in contour and in character, as also all other authentic portraits of him, but *is decorated with only one epaulette,* worn on the right shoulder, which was the insignia of rank of a junior officer in the *armies* of France and of Great Britain in the eighteenth century. Paul Jones, as captain in the *navy,* was entitled to and always wore two epaulettes, as Houdon represents him in his veritable bust of 1780. Apart from these undeniable and unanswerable facts, it will not bear comparative dissection with the unquestioned Houdon bust of Jones, and it is not decorated with either of the orders that we have seen Paul Jones was so eager to have represented on the busts that Houdon surely did make of him.

Neither was this bust an heirloom in the Biron family, as has been stated, but was purchased by the late Marquis de Biron, from an artist, who had bought it at a public sale, outside of Paris, *as a bust of an unknown man and not as a portrait of Paul Jones,* wholly for its artistic merit as a terra-cotta by Houdon; and it was not until a supposed resemblance of it to the profile on the

Dupré medal of Jones, which was modeled from the Houdon bust of 1780, was pointed out to the Marquis de Biron by an American visitor, that it was given the name of Paul Jones.[1] Mr. Frank D. Millet, the distinguished painter, who saw this terra-cotta in Paris, is of the opinion that it is not a portrait-bust of Paul Jones, while he thinks it may be by Houdon; and Mr. Charles Grafly, the eminent sculptor, who has seen only the photograph, thinks the bust is neither by Houdon nor of Jones.[2] It was not unreasonable to suppose the bust was an heirloom in the Biron family, as Jones was acquainted with his contemporary Marquis de Biron, whose nephew, the Duc de Lauzun, was serving with the French army in America, and Bachaumont preserves a very good story apropos of this.[3] "Some days since the Maréchal de Biron, desirous of entertaining all strangers of distinction and merit, gave a dinner to Paul Jones. This nobleman asks many questions, and by two answers of the American, which have been preserved, one can judge of his spirit. The Maréchal, speaking to him of Captain Pearson, Commander of the *Serapis,* the adversary who gave him his victory and glory, remarked that he had been made a Knight. 'Would that I might some day cause him to be made an Earl.' The Maréchal

[1] Letters from the Marquis de Biron to Mr. Hart, March 30 and May 2, 1907; Loubat's "Medallic History," p. xxi; Saunier's "Augustin Dupré," p. 26.

[2] Lady Dilke, in her "Sculptors of France," prints a remarkable foot-note to her list of Houdon's works exhibited at the various Salons. Under date of 1781, "Paul Jones.—This bust is now in the possession of M. le Marquis de Biron, B.B." Our text shows the inaccuracy of such a statement.

[3] "Mémoires Secrets," May 20, 1780, Vol. XV, p. 181.

some time afterward asked if he had seen the review and observed closely the manœuvres of the Regiment of the Guard. 'I should much rather,' he answered, 'have seen them manœuvring in Hyde Park.' The rest of the conversation was carried on through an interpreter, as Jones was not completely master of our language."

This brings us to the identification of the body of Paul Jones by comparisons with the Houdon bust of him; and, to begin, let it be distinctly understood that the bust of Paul Jones, signed "houdon f. 1780," is a life-size bust, a fact that has been disputed; owing, doubtless, to its beautiful proportions making it appear slightly small, when in fact it is decidedly a large head.

The American Ambassador, in his official report to the United States Government upon the remains of Jones, says:

To furnish the anthropologists with the required data, there was obtained, upon personal application, permission to make all the desired measurements of the Houdon bust of Paul Jones, *a little more than three-quarter size,* owned by the Marquis de Biron, a very artistic work representing the Admiral *in court dress,* with the hair curled in rolls upon the temples. These rolls were identical with those found upon the body. There was procured, through the courtesy of the Director of the Trocadéro Museum, a copy of the other well known bust of Paul Jones by Houdon, one of the most accurate works of the famous sculptor, who was also an admirer of the subject. It represents Paul Jones in the uniform of an Admiral, and was found more useful for the purpose of making the comparative measurements on account of its being life size.[1]

[1] Papers relative to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Washington, 1906, p. 435. The official report is the article previously published in "The Century Magazine" for October, 1905, by General Horace Porter.

SIGNATURE OF HOUDON ON BUST OF JOHN PAUL JONES

In Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

(Houdon's usual signature on his works.)

The italics in the above are to note the inaccuracy of statement in a matter of such importance that correctness and exactness are of primary necessity. As already stated, the subject of the Biron bust is represented in military uniform and not "in court dress" as that expression is commonly understood, the only court dress for an officer in the service being his full-dress uniform. By comparison with what has it been determined that the Biron bust is a little less than a quarter under life size? There is no undeviating standard life size by which the proportions of a head are determined; and if the comparison was made with the cadaver the Ambassador was seeking to establish as the body of Jones, it was making the unknown quantity the canon by which to fix its own value. Or were the comparisons made with the unquestioned Houdon bust of Jones? If so, did not the great dissimilarity of form and contour and character between the two busts strike the Ambassador and the experts so as to make them question, if not actually doubt, whether the Biron bust was of Paul Jones? These are mere introductory guide-posts to lead the reader to a serious consideration of the greater subject.

One of the French experts, Dr. Georges Papillault, seems to coincide in this view. He says in his report:[1]

> There exist two busts of the Admiral made by the well known French sculptor of the period, Houdon. One of these belongs to the Marquis de Biron and the other is from a Philadelphia gallery. A replica of the

[1] "The Independent," July 13, 1905, p. 68.

latter is to be found in the collection of casts in the Trocadéro Museum, here in Paris. Both of these were placed at my disposal, but after a careful examination I utilized only the Philadelphia bust; and for this reason, though both of the busts appear to be authentic, one was evidently far more valuable for my purpose than the other. *They were surely made at widely different periods, and the aim and method of the sculptor were not the same in both instances.* The Philadelphia bust represents the Admiral in uniform. The head is energetic and the pose that of one commanding. It is plain that the artist is copying life. The modeling is very studied and precise. Every wrinkle of the skin is reproduced. You feel that this is a likeness.

A very different impression is made upon you by the terra-cotta belonging to the Marquis de Biron. The rough sailor has become a courtier. The hair is not smooth as in the first bust, but is curled and done up in elegant braids. *The face is made more refined. The artist has attenuated its energy and diminished its robustness. The protuberances of the forehead are effaced.* It is a work full of grace and spirit, *but rather conventional.* Houdon wished to *flatter the weakness* of him who had become "so careful in his dress that it was remarked." There was but one detail in this bust that was worthy of note in connection with the matter in hand; and this detail was an important one: the hair was arranged exactly as on the corpse before me.

This dissection and analytical criticism of the Biron bust show that it cannot be the work of "the first sculptor of his century," as Charles Blanc properly calls Houdon,[1] and that it is not in the least likely to be of Paul Jones. Think of Houdon, "the true master of his epoch," as Paul Mantz names him,[2] "the great evocator of phy-

[1] "Gazette des Beaux Arts," Vol. VI, p. 16. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 308.

siognomies," as André Michel styles him,[1] in his resistless naturalism and originality, producing a mere conventional head "to flatter the weakness" of his sitter; robbing the rugged face of the valiant sailor of all its character and characteristics; making it more refined, attenuating its energy, diminishing its robustness, and effacing the protuberances of the forehead. Just think of Houdon, the man and the artist as we know him, who marked the face of Glück with the pits of the smallpox, listening to such a proposition, much less carrying it out. To do so seems to be to out-Herod Herod!

And as to the subject being Paul Jones: Did Jones ever show himself to be so sapless that he would be stripped of his energy and robustness, and have the characteristic protuberances of his forehead effaced? He was a vain man, it is true; but he was vain, as he had a right to be, of what he had accomplished through the possession of those very qualities that the Biron bust absolutely lacks; and he was vain, very vain, of the honors his prowess and manhood had won for him, his sword and his title and his orders that he always wore; and as he was "so careful in his dress," would he not have had these orders fastened on this Biron bust, if it were of him, as he did upon the unquestioned Houdon bust of 1780? Dr. Papillault says of it and the bust of 1780, "they were surely made at widely different periods," an impression that would strike any one, but a physical impossibility if both are from life and by Houdon, as the

[1] "Journal des Débats," July 11, 1905.

Biron bust is of a much younger man than the Paul Jones of 1780, before which year Jones had done nothing to be immortalized by the genius of Houdon, nor had he been in Paris to meet the sculptor.

We know that Paul Jones was in his thirty-third year when Houdon did model his bust. His hard and hazardous seafaring, fighting life had seared his face and added half his years to his appearance, so that the bust looks like that of a man of fifty and is an invaluable human document. The Biron bust, on the contrary, by whomever it is and of whomever it is, represents a man under thirty, with a weak, characterless, untoiled face, which leaves one to choose only whichever horn of the dilemma is preferred,—either that it is not of Paul Jones, as it surely is not, or that it is so poor and emasculated a likeness as to be absolutely valueless as a portrait of a distinguished historical personage. And remember, the Marquis de Biron did not acquire it as a portrait-bust of Paul Jones, but merely as a work of art by Jean Antoine Houdon. This, we think, disposes of the Biron bust, as to its being by Houdon or of Paul Jones.

Let us now critically inquire into the identification of the cadaver, unearthed by General Porter, by means of comparisons with the true Houdon bust of Paul Jones and "historical documents."

Dr. Papillault says very correctly in his report (p. 68):

> One must not expect to find the traits exactly the same in a bust and in the dead face. The former represents living tissues, filled out by the blood which animates them; whereas in the second case we have before us a skeleton covered with tissues hardened in this instance by alcohol.

Furthermore, *a sculptor rarely takes many measurements.* When he has noted the principal guiding marks, he generally lays aside his compasses and devotes his attention to catching the expression of the face and getting a likeness.

He then refers to the many and great "variations of the human face and its different parts," compares the resemblance that he finds in the bust and in the head of the cadaver, and concludes that there is "a strong general likeness between bust and face." The measurements that Dr. Papillault took in accordance with the methods that he teaches, he finds, "produce still more conclusive results"; but he says, naïvely, that he does "not know what system Houdon employed" in making measurements of the head, after having previously said, with less naïveté and more truth, that "a sculptor rarely takes many measurements." He then explains his endeavor to prove that sculptors are merely mechanics in their work, and not creative artists, by the comparative measurements he made of a bust by Dalou, "who was remarkable for veracity in art and whose excessive use of the compasses was even criticized by his fellow-artists," and its original; yet he "found that in this instance there were errors," thus disproving the very hypothesis he was seeking to uphold. In a forlorn hope to sustain the brief he had been given to advocate, he adds, "Houdon's exactness is notable, and was most valuable in this labor which I now have in hand." If, by Houdon's *exactness* being *notable,* Dr. Papillault means, as it would seem, mensuration—mathematical exactness in measurements,—we chal-

lenge him, or any one else who may be willing to take up the gauntlet, to show that Houdon followed any system of exact measurements in modeling from nature the superb creations of his artistic brain that are the admiration of the art world to-day. It is the acme of absurdity and art ignorance to suggest such a thing, as much so as to think of any other great master of the plastic art, from Phidias down, doing such a mechanical job. The consensus of opinion of the most eminent of American sculptors which the writer has obtained, is against the measurements of a bust being accepted as the exact measurements of the living head reproduced, as the true artist makes but little moment of measuring and is likely to vary in his work from the measurements of nature, exaggerating parts, either *plus* or *minus,* to produce a desired effect. The truth is that the sculptor seeks to express character and general lifelikeness, not the mathematical measurements of the subject, and therefore, while Houdon unquestionably was very exact, he may have been also very inaccurate; consequently, to take a work of art to prove a scientific fact seems, to say the least, most unscientific.

I have thus given a complete summary of all the points made by Dr. Papillault in his report, which is the only rational one offered to us,[1] so as to give him its full benefit, but *cui bono?* Has he not cut the measuring-ground from under his own feet when he says,

[1] I take no note of the autopsy and the anatomo-pathological remarks thereon of Dr. Capitan, as I have no qualification for the task, and medical men of the first rank in

"One must not expect to find the traits exactly the same in a bust and in the dead face"? This is undeniably true. Then of what value are his respective measurements of the Houdon bust of Paul Jones and of the disinterred cadaver? All their comparison can possibly signify, if anything, is a remarkable coincidence, such as is frequently met with in daily affairs by each one of us—"only this and nothing more." The coincidence of the two restored noses on the two different busts of La Fayette by Houdon, as related on another page, seems to be much more remarkable. Had Dr. Papillault frankly avowed this position, as the only logical sequence to be deduced from his premise, he would have commanded greater respect for his work, as would General Porter did he not ask the people of this broad land and the world at large, scientific as well as lay, to accept his proposition upon what he calls "the principle of elimination," that, because five leaden coffins were found and "four having been easily identified" as not of Paul Jones, *"the other must be the coffin sought."*[1]

That the veritable coffin containing the remains of so distinguished a personage as Paul Jones, whose body at the time it was interred was interred only temporarily,—as it was supposed most naturally that his adopted country, which he had served so signally

this country consider it impossible to make a scientific autopsy, that could be of any value or significance in an examination of this character, upon a body that had been buried for more than a century.

[1] Official Report, p. 433.

and so well, would desire to disinter and remove it to its own land, for permanent burial,[1]—was put into the ground without a plate, or any other sign of identification upon it, to indicate whose body was contained therein, is taxing credulity too far.

Dr. Papillault sums up (p. 69) that "the age, height, color of the hair and six dimensions of the face which *were known,* were also repeated on the corpse." He forgets that he has said (p. 66), *"The age of a person cannot be exactly fixed by the examination of the corpse.* . . . The body before us had reached maturity and *could have* the age which Paul Jones had." So the first point of the four that "were known"—*the age*—was not found repeated in the corpse, because, as Dr. Papillault himself says, the examination of a corpse will not fix the age.

The second point—*height*—of the four that Dr. Papillault says "were known," I challenge. The height given by General Porter to the experts—"5 feet 7 inches"—and which Dr. Papillault says was a most important fact (p. 67), is a forgery by Buell in his captivating book of fiction, which every scholar knows is unauthentic and valueless. On this point of Jones's height and appearance, General Porter, in his "Official Certification of the American Embassy and Consulate of the Identification of the Body of Admiral John Paul Jones,"[2] says that Paul Jones "was 5 feet 7 inches tall, slender in build, of exquisitely symmetrical form, with noticeably perfect development of limbs (Anecdotes of the Court

[1] Official Report, p. 428. [2] Official Report, p. 443.

of Louis XVI)." From this quotation and citation of authority, it would naturally be supposed that General Porter was citing direct from the work he names, even though he does fail to give reference to the page of his citation. *But he is not.* His quotation is copied, without any attempt at verification, or he would have had some insight into its character, from Buell, Vol. I, p. 322, where it is ascribed to the "Anecdotes," also without the page being given for reference. Now Buell was a very cunning and adroit literary forger, quite worthy of entering the ranks with Chatterton and Ireland. He was wary and surveyed his field well before committing the overt act, in his endeavor to conceal the perpetration of his forgeries. This is admirably illustrated in his use of the "Anecdotes." In his list of the works he pretends to have consulted in the preparation of his book (Vol. II, p. 358), there appear "Historical Anecdotes of the Court of Louis XV, by Soulavie," and "Historical Anecdotes of the Court of Louis XVI, anonymous," without any imprint or edition being given of either. A thorough examination of bibliographies and catalogues of public libraries here and abroad has discovered the fact that books with these titles have never even been published, both being Buell's invention. Soulavie did publish, in 1802, "Mémoires historiques et politiques du Règne de Louis XVI," in six volumes, but it contains no reference whatever to Paul Jones from the first page to the last. The deduction is obvious. Buell fabricated every word that he pretended to quote from the "Anecdotes," just as he did Jones's

bequest of his sword to Dale,[1] and a mass of other entertaining matter in his volumes, so that the "historical documents" for Jones's height, given by Ambassador Porter to the experts, instead of being from the volume he gives as though his own original authority, are Buell's forgery.

The only statement of any value that we have of Jones's stature is that given by Sands, who compiled the memoir for the family: "He was of the middle size, if not rather under."[2] This Buell made "5 feet 7 inches," and Brady, with rather more show of reason but no greater right, "5 feet 5 inches."[3] Thus the ground again is cut completely from under the feet of General Porter and Dr. Papillault, and the height of Jones, which they put down among the points that "were known," is still an unknown quantity, and consequently the comparative measurements of the height of the cadaver are utterly worthless in identifying the body as that of Paul Jones.

Likewise, the color of the hair, which General Porter accepts, is that given by Buell from the forged "Anecdotes": "His hair and eyebrows are black." General Porter, seeing that the hair of his cadaver was not black, and not wishing publicly to stultify the star authority he was using, makes it "very dark brown—generally speaking, might be called black." This, however, was not the color of Paul Jones's hair. We have the very best evidence pos-

[1] "History of the Sword Presented by Louis XVI to John Paul Jones," by Charles Henry Hart. Proc. U. S. Naval Inst., Vol. XXXIII, p. 712.

[2] Sands's Jones, p. 550.

[3] Brady's Jones, p. 424.

sible as to the color of Jones's hair, and that is the hair itself. As if to provide against just such a contingency as has happened, Jones had preserved for us a lock of the hair of his head; and not merely a few strands, but a long coil. As we have already stated, at the same period as Jones sat for Houdon, he sat to the Comtesse Bourbon de la Vendahl, an accomplished amateur, for a miniature which she painted of him, and for the setting of which she doubtless wanted the lock of his hair that he sent to her in the letter of June 7, 1780, heretofore quoted. This miniature, with the finely braided lock of Jones's hair in the back, around a blue enameled medallion bearing Jones's initials, "J. P. J.," interlaced in gold, is in the museum of the United States Naval Institute at Annapolis, Md.,[1] and the color of the hair is reddish brown, a dark sandy, as it should be on the head of a typical Scotsman, and not "very dark brown," that any one could possibly call black. So that as to the third point—the color of the hair, instead of being "identical" with that on the exhumed body, as General Porter says it is, is nothing whatever like it.

The last of the four propositions that Dr. Papillault says "were known"—six dimensions of the face—is certainly a most unwarrantable and audacious assertion. What semblance of authority is there for this statement? Not even the romance-writer Buell goes so far. Doubtless what Dr. Papillault meant was that six dimen-

[1] "The Naval Academy Miniature of John Paul Jones," by Prof. Philip R. Alger. Proceedings U. S. Naval Inst., Vol. XXXI, p. 585.

sions of the Houdon bust were known, not six dimensions of the human face of Paul Jones. Of course he knew the dimensions of the bust, for had he not taken them himself? But of what value are the measurements of the bust, for comparison with other measurements, until it is proved first, beyond peradventure, that Houdon, whom Louis Gonze calls "the magician interpreter of the human face,"[1] was a mere mechanic, with his calipers and his tape-line always in his hand, if his measurements have the scientific value sought to be given them in this matter of the identification of the remains of Jones, and not, as he is universally esteemed, easily the first creative sculptor of his time and of his land? This seems to be so palpably true that he who runs may read, and therefore it can profit nothing to discuss this point further. Thus the four props of the foundation of the identification of the unearthed cadaver are cut away, with the inevitable result of a definitive collapse, leaving the identity of the body taken to Annapolis, for governmental ceremonial and interment[2] as the veritable body of Paul Jones, to say the least, *"Not proven";* and it is not, in the most distant degree, likely to be the true remains of that distinguished man. This result flows of a necessity from the situation as it exists, and which is exactly in accord with the dogma of Dr. Papillault when he says (p. 66), "The problem which we had to solve was especially difficult and complex. In the first place, it was necessary to study all *the*

[1] "Les Chefs d'Œuvres des Musées de France."
[2] It has not yet—December, 1911—been interred.

historical documents concerning the Admiral which it had been possible to bring together, and to compare them with the data furnished by a careful examination of the body. *A single well established discord between these two sets of facts would suffice to put an end to the demonstration."* As we have shown, beyond a doubt or question, that the "historical documents" used are forgeries, pure and simple, the parallel between them and the body signifies nothing but coincidence, and, as Dr. Papillault himself says, puts "an end to the demonstration."

Notwithstanding this conclusive judgment in the case, there is one point to be considered, of great importance and significance, as cumulative evidence against the identity of the exhumed remains. The coffin containing these remains was taken from the ground on April 7, 1905, and in the night of the 8th was transferred to the École de Médecine, where a photograph of the body was taken, which is now before me, signed "F. Monpillard, 11 avril, 1905." This photograph shows that the nose of the man buried in the exhumed coffin was "terribly arched and aquiline," to use Cowper's expression in "The Task," from the root, a pronounced Roman nose, almost Semitic in its convexity; while the most casual glance at the Houdon bust of Jones will show the nose there to be "concave from the root and enlarged at the tip,"[1] almost a pug nose, or perhaps, in its thickness at the nostrils, more like the nose in the negroid races. This marked difference can be seen in a poor repro-

[1] Brady's Jones, p. 425.

duction of the head, enlarged from this photograph, in "The Century Magazine" for October, 1905, page 944, where, however, the flattened appearance below the bridge of the nose must have been introduced into the plate, as it is not like this in the original photograph. The query naturally arises, What do the experts say on this notable difference, the most important problem that confronted them? *Not one word.* The only reference to the nose in the reports of the experts is on page 68, where Dr. Papillault says, "The root of the nose *does not turn in,* as frequently happens, and *the bridge is thin.*" The importance of these words, in this connection, cannot be lost. The root of the nose in the true Houdon bust of Jones *does turn in* and *the bridge is thick.*

A variance so irreconcilable as this induced the writer, in July of 1905, to make a personal inquiry of General Porter, as to how he and the French savants "reconcile the utter dissimilarity of the noses in the cadaver and the Houdon bust." To this General Porter courteously replied that "when Paul Jones was buried his long hair was gathered in a bag at the back of his head. This raised the head so high that the lid of the coffin flattened it, pressed it over to the right and distorted this feature. At the angle at which the photograph was taken the nose appears Roman or aquiline, instead of straight. The anthropologists pay no attention to the cartilaginous portions of the body in making their comparisons, as these are subject to change in the best preserved body. They measure only the bony or solid structures." In acknowledging General Porter's

communication I said, with absolute frankness, "Accepting all that you say on the subject, I do not feel that the case is made out. This view is very materially strengthened by the publication of the report of the professors of the Paris Anthropological School, in 'The Independent' for July 13, which I have only seen since the receipt of your reply, in which not one word is said, either for or against, of the differences between the nose on the cadaver and on the Houdon bust. This I consider a crucial point against the opinion of the experts and their identification of the body. Why silent upon a point so prominent that it cannot be given the go-by? You very properly say in your letter to me, 'The anthropologists pay no attention to the cartilaginous portions of the body, as they are subject to change.' For the purposes of this inquiry it is not necessary to consider the cartilaginous portions of the nose at all. The nasal bone is all-sufficient for the purpose. In the cadaver it starts out from the root direct—aquiline, Roman, Hebraic. Impossible for it to be more pronounced in its form, and this is the nasal bone, not the cartilage. *It is absolutely convex from the root.* In the Philadelphia Houdon bust—the identical one the experts say they used[1] —the nasal bone, from its root direct, is *positively concave,* beyond the possibility of a doubt. This is so plainly and clearly a fact, apparent to the most casual and inexpert observer, that it is beyond the dogma of opinion. Such being the case, the fact is hardly ex-

[1] In fact, they did not use the Philadelphia Houdon bust of Jones, but a recent cast, in the Trocadéro Museum, Paris, from a bust in New York.

plained away by the statement that the bag containing the body's hair raised the head into contact with the lid of the coffin and changed the nose from a concave to a convex. Pressure from above might possibly have changed a convex to a concave, but impossible to have pushed a depressed nasal bone up *from below,* so as to become convex. The identity of a body that is to receive the homage and honor of a great nation is too important to allow any sentimental feeling to stand in the way of a most thorough investigation by those competent to form an opinion, as well in this country as in France."

General Porter's answer was that he was writing a full account of the recovery of Paul Jones's body, and "as you take so much interest in the case, I shall have great pleasure in sending you a copy." This account was his official report, published as a magazine article in "The Century" for October, 1905, to which frequent reference has been made in this discussion, so that it can be examined in connection with the views here expressed, always bearing in mind that the most important of the "historical documents" upon which it is based are nothing but forgeries, without any authority whatever, and that the bust of John Paul Jones, by Jean Antoine Houdon, is an artistic creation and not an artisan's construction.

CHAPTER VIII

1776–1848

LA LOGE DES NEUF-SŒURS—MEMBERSHIP OF HOUDON, VOLTAIRE, FRANKLIN AND PAUL JONES

THE Lodge of the Nine Sisters, meaning the nine Muses, for which Houdon made the bust of Paul Jones, and where he is said to have first met Franklin, is so closely and intimately connected with our quartette—Houdon, Voltaire, Franklin and Paul Jones—that some account of it is not only appropriate and interesting, but important from the fact of its curious history and the close relations which the distinguished characters named had with it. So far as I have been able to learn, the career of this unique body has never been traced in our tongue, and although Dixmerie, Melchior Potier and Louis Amiable appear to have written memorials of the lodge, I have been unable to find copies of any one of these publications. The source of almost all the data I have been able to glean for this chapter has been that mine of recondite information and gossip, Bachaumont's "Mémoires Secrets."[1]

[1] The "Mémoires Secrets," in thirty-six volumes duodecimo, is a daily chronicle covering the period of twenty-six years from 1762 to 1787; and although the first volume did not appear until 1777, six years after the death of Bachaumont, the entire publication

La Loge des Neuf-Sœurs was a Masonic lodge, but wholly and entirely different from what such bodies now are. Freemasonry assumed in France a very remarkable form. "The attachments of that people to innovation and external finery produced the most unwarrantable alterations upon its principles and ceremonies. . . . The lodges were transformed into lecturing rooms where the more learned of the Brethren propounded the most extraordinary and extravagant theories."[1] While the Lodge of the Nine Sisters was not chartered by the Grand Orient of Paris until March 11, 1776, it was the outgrowth of an association founded by the philosophers Helvetius and Lalande in 1769, under the name of the "Atelier des Sciences," and therefore these two distinguished men were generally looked upon as the founders of the Lodge of the Nine Sisters. These facts, not properly understood and explained, caused so noted a French writer as Gustave Desnoiresterres, in his elaborate work on Voltaire, to make the anachronous statement that Helvetius, who died five years before the foundation of the Nine Sisters, was, with Lalande, its founder.[2] As can be understood, this lodge was not in the least a close body in the meaning of ancient Freemasonry, but rather a meeting-place or club for persons of distinction, intelli-

is known by his name. His volumes were edited by Pidansat de Mairobert, who continued the record down to his suicide in 1779, when it was taken up by Moufle d'Angerville and carried on until 1787, and then ceased. The volumes bear the imprint of "Londres, John Adamson," and Paul Lacroix wrote an erudite introduction to a new edition of the Bachaumont "Mémoires" proper, issued in 1883.

[1] "History of Freemasonry," by William Alexander Laurie, Edinburgh, 1859, p. 58.

[2] Desnoiresterres's"Voltaire et la Société au XVIII Siècle," Part VIII, p. 306.

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gence and talent, where young men and old men, in science, in letters and in arts, met on a much freer and more familiar footing than was possible elsewhere.

It was the coming of the Sage of Ferney to Paris, in the second year of its existence, that brought the Lodge of the Nine Sisters prominently into the social life of the French capital. Voltaire arrived in Paris, after his exile of twenty-eight years, on the 10th day of February, 1778, and in less than four months he was dead.[1] He was received with extravagant demonstrations of enthusiasm, and it is needless to say the event was a stirring one to all classes of the community; but its story is too well known to bear repeating. Voltaire was a Freemason,[2] though for a long while one of its most pronounced opponents, and the Masonic body at this time, after the persecutions in Naples, was playing a not inconsiderable rôle in France, having taken part in various patriotic events. Bachaumont says,[3] "Among the lodges of the capital, that of the IX Sisters holds distinguished rank, it being composed of men of letters, etc. At a meeting held on the 10th of this month, one of the members, M. de la Dixmerie, proposed the health of the aged invalid Voltaire, and sang some verses of his own composition in his honor." Afterward a resolution was passed naming a deputation to call and

[1] Desnoiresterres, Part VIII, p. 191.

[2] Condorcet says that Voltaire "received the light" in England in 1728. Bachaumont likewise says he was a Freemason, but Wagnière, his private secretary, says positively he was not.

[3] "Mémoires Secrets," March 21, 1778, Vol. XI, p. 192.

congratulate him on his return to Paris and to testify to the interest the lodge took in his welfare. It was not, however, until the 21st instant that Voltaire was able to receive them, when, it being but a step from the lodge-room to the house of the Marquis de Villette, where Voltaire was living, a body of thirty or forty brothers, headed by their Venerable, Lalande, visited the aged philosopher "to see and gaze at leisure at this extraordinary man." They invited him to visit the lodge, which he accepted for Tuesday, the 7th of April. It was to be an informal visit, but the Masons took advantage of his presence to initiate him into their mysteries[1] with an elaborate ceremonial, presenting him with the apron and Masonic jewels of Helvetius, which the widow of that illustrious man had given to the Lodge of the Nine Sisters.

J. F. Sachse, librarian of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, has published "The Masonic Chronology of Benjamin Franklin,"[2] wherein he sets down, under "February 7, 1778. Assists at the initiation of Voltaire in the Lodge of the Nine Sisters." This statement he elaborates and repeats in his "Franklin as a Freemason."[3] The date thus given for the initiation of Voltaire into the Lodge of the Nine Sisters is not only two months earlier than the correct date, but it is also three days before Voltaire arrived in Paris;[4] and

[1] Desnoiresterres, Part VIII, pp. 304–308.

[2] "Pennsylvania Magazine," Vol. XXX, p. 240.

[3] Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Bicentenary Celebration, Philadelphia, 1906, p. 155.

[4] "Materials for the History of Freemasonry in France," The New Age, January, 1906, p. 55, gives the date of Voltaire's initiation as "June 17, 1778," or eighteen days after he was dead. So much for *history* "as she is wrote"!

in none of the contemporary accounts of this ceremony is the name of Franklin mentioned as even being present. Indeed, Franklin was not received into membership with this lodge until the following July, which would make it nearly certain that he could not have been a participant at the initiation of Voltaire in April, and that he was not seems to be conclusively shown by the absence of his name from among those mentioned as taking part in the initiation in the official report of the same.[1]

Voltaire died on the 30th day of May, and in Bachaumont we find, under date of July 17, 1778:[2] "Much surprise has been occasioned through Dr. Franklin's taking part in the celebration tendered him by the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, charged as Dr. Franklin is with so many grave matters; spending an entire day with a mass of young people and poetasters, who intoxicated him to a degree by their meaningless and puerile praise. *They gave him the apron of Voltaire.*"

This last sentence shows that this "celebration tendered him" was his initiation into the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, and among the Franklin papers in the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia there are preserved no fewer than fifty-four notices of the meetings of this lodge between the "9th of 2d mo. 5779" and the

[1] "Relation de Deux Séances de la Loge des Neuf-Sœurs en 1778. Extrait de la planche à trace de la respectable loge des Neuf-Sœurs à l'Orient de Paris, le septième jour du quatrième mois de l'an de la vrai luminière 5778."—Grimm-Diderot Correspondance, Vol. VIII, p. 185.

[2] "Mémoires Secrets," Vol. XII, p. 48.

"4th of 5th mo. 5785." Why his earlier notices were not preserved with equal care we do not know, but the oversight is to be regretted. If Franklin did not assist at Voltaire's initiation, he was present at the Lodge of Sorrow commemorative of the dead Voltaire, held November 28, 1778, at which were present, with the brethren, Mme. Denis, the niece, and the Marquise de Villette, the adopted daughter of the philosopher. Bachaumont, in referring to the coming event, says,[1] "It is not to be doubted but that Dr. Franklin, a member of the same lodge, the inheritor of Voltaire's apron and an admirer of the defunct, will take part and distinguish himself by some happy effort on this memorable day." The details of this elaborate ceremony have been recorded by Bachaumont, in the Grimm-Diderot Correspondance, by Desnoiresterres, and pictorially in "Le Tombeau de Voltaire."[2] There are, however, two incidents connected with the event that are of especial interest here. At the end of the hall was seen an arch of triumph, formed of garlands of flowers, in which appeared suddenly the bust of Voltaire by Houdon, given to the lodge by Mme. Denis.[3] The following February, Houdon presented the lodge with another bust of Voltaire,[4] presumably different from the one received from Mme. Denis. And as the ceremonial closed, the Venerable of the Lodge,

[1] "Mémoires Secrets," October 25, 1778, Vol. XII, p. 161.

[2] *Vide* "Franklin in Allegory," by Charles Henry Hart. The Century Magazine for December, 1890, p. 202.

[3] Grimm-Diderot Correspondance, Vol. XII, p. 193.

[4] Montaiglon and Duplessis, p. 247.

M. Lalande; Greuze, the painter, who had just been initiated a member; and Mme. la Marquise de Villette, having previously crowned the orator, the painter and Dr. Franklin, all three placed their crowns at the feet of Houdon's image of Voltaire, and the Lodge of Sorrow was ended.

At this time a living incident was dividing the attention of Paris with the dead. Marie Antoinette was approaching her first accouchement, and all loyal subjects were praying for the birth of a Dauphin. Instead, on December 19, 1778, at Versailles, was born Marie Thérèse Charlotte, afterward Duchesse d'Angoulême, who escaped the guillotine and lived into the second half of the last century. "To celebrate the happy deliverance of the Queen,"[1] the Lodge of the Nine Sisters arranged a festival to be held on the 9th of March, 1779, at the Royal Circus, in the Boulevard Montparnasse. Bachaumont says, "It is felt that such a festival cannot be carried out without the aid of the Graces, thus it will become a lodge of adoption; that is to say, where the fair sex will be admitted and will form the chief ornament." He then adds with latent sarcasm, "It is the Abbé Cordier de St. Fermin, as usual *burning with zeal for the glory of Masonry,* who is the inventor, promoter and director of the fête." The festival took place, and with dire consequences to the lodge, which were averted largely through the influence of Franklin.

It was arranged that, after the introduction of the ladies, the

[1] "Mémoires Secrets," February 22, 1779, Vol. XIII, p. 339.

proceedings should begin by the initiation of a sister, to be followed by addresses, the reading of poems, a concert by the most celebrated performers, a banquet with military music, and finally a ball. Everything had been arranged apparently to perfection. "The prettiest women and the most distinguished of the court were there in crowds, as well as the highest nobles; but the lack of order caused the assemblage to degenerate into a mob where silence was unattainable. An unlooked-for incident added to the confusion. The candidate for initiation was Mlle. Rolly, niece of the Farmer-General of that name. She had not taken her uncle and aunt into her confidence, as they had wished she should not go to the fête, for according to their ideas it would be too worldly an entertainment for so young a person. She, however, had slipped in, closely veiled, with a lady who was in the plot. What a surprise then for M. and Mme. Rolly to see their niece in the midst of the Freemasons! They wanted to take her away, and made formal complaint to the officials, but they were told that this would produce worse effects than what had already happened, and so they had to swallow their indignation and let the initiation proceed."[1] This is not saying, however, that Masonic mysteries were revealed to her, as they had a particular form for women.[2]

But such proceedings were too much for the Grand Orient, which was the mother lodge of all the lodges of Freemasons in France,

[1] "Mémoires Secrets," March 14, 1779, Vol. XIII, p. 365.
[2] "Correspondance Secrete," June 15, 1779, Vol. VIII, p. 66.

with high prerogatives of jurisdiction and disciplinary powers. Charges against the Lodge of the Nine Sisters were brought by the orator of the Grand Orient, in consequence of the disorders that had taken place at the fête, and "this tribunal of conscript brothers, without hearing the accused, pronounced an order to suppress, or rather, for this is the consecrated term—to *demolish* the Lodge of IX Sisters."[1] In addition to this, the Venerable Lalande was suspended for six months, all the other brothers for eighty-one days, including, of course, Houdon and Franklin, who were also members of the Grand Orient, and Brother Abbé Cordier de St. Fermin, the leader and organizer of the rout, for eighty-one months.[2]

Other brothers suddenly seemed to be "burning with zeal for the glory of Masonry," in the same way as had the Abbé Cordier. The Lodge of Thalia proposed giving a festival and holding a Lodge of Adoption, similar to that of the Nine Sisters; but the Count de Maurepas, on behalf of the King, forbade the assemblage and placed fifty guards at the lodge door to prevent the guests from entering. This prohibition was founded on the improprieties and disorders that had happened at the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, of which the King had been advised.[3] But, as Metra says,[4] "the Muses do not submit themselves so easily to violation," and the ac-

[1] "Correspondance Secrete," Vol. VIII, p. 66.
[2] "Mémoires Secrets," March 22, 1779, Vol. XIII, p. 378.
[3] "Mémoires Secrets," March 25, 1779, Vol. XIII, p. 381.
[4] "Correspondance Secrete," June 15, 1779, Vol. VIII, p. 66.

tion of the Grand Orient was not accepted without protest. The Freemasons were furious and the Lodge of the Nine Sisters refused to acquiesce in the order of demolition and suspension and threatened a schism. The lodge held several solemn conclaves upon the subject, and finally it was determined that, as the festival had been a public one, "of which all Paris was informed," it was necessary "to disabuse the mind of all Paris," and a memorial, addressed to the profane as well as to the illumined, was ordered to be written in a manner that could be read and understood by all the world. This was too bold a stand for the Worshipful Master Lalande, who was dubbed in this relation "a pusillanimous and timid man,"[1] so he resigned. The Nine Sisters, not so easily conquered, pleaded to the Grand Orient that its action had been misunderstood and misconstrued, and great injustice had been done the lodge and the Masonic fraternity, with the result that after many *pourparlers,* the Grand Orient on the 21st of May, 1779, rescinded its orders of demolishment of the lodge and suspension of its members and restored both to good standing. At this time the proposed memorial had not been issued, but it had been printed, and there was great opposition to its distribution after the restoration by the Grand Orient; but it was held that, as it had been prepared rather for "the justification of the lodge before the public than for the Grand Orient, the justice just granted it by the Grand Orient was not made sufficiently clear to the profane, whom it was necessary to illumine." Bachaumont says

[1] "Mémoires Secrets," May 10, 1779, Vol. XIV, p. 531.

of this memorial,[1] "It is of an entirely new kind, *like the subject,* and is accompanied by pieces in prose and in verse."

It was at this critical period that Franklin was elected to succeed Lalande as Venerable, or Worshipful Master, of the Lodge of the Nine Sisters. The election took place on May 20, 1779. A week later Bachaumont records the event.[2] "It is wonderful to see Mr. Franklin, in spite of the great and numerous matters he is bothered with, finding sufficient time to occupy himself seriously with useless and frivolous things,[3] and attending the assemblies of the Freemasons like the most idle brother. On Thursday last he was elected Venerable of the Lodge of Nine Sisters, and a deputation went to Passy to notify him. This election falls in very happily at this critical time, when a violent persecution has been aroused against the lodge on account of the memorial in its favor spread abroad in the past few days. The Keeper of the Seals has ordered M. le Noir to prevent its distribution and to have searching inquiries made to discover the printer, which is matter for the exercise of zeal by the new Venerable."

The memorial was written by the poet Nicholas Bricaire de la Dixmerie, who was orator of the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, and signed by him, by Comte de Gibelin, the secretary, and by Comte Persan, the master of ceremonies. It sets forth that "this society has been in existence barely three years, and its work embraces two

[1] "Mémoires Secrets," May 23, 1779, Vol. XIV, p. 69.
[2] "Mémoires Secrets," May 26, 1779, Vol. XIV, p. 73.
[3] "Jouer à la Chapelle."

objects—Freemasonry, which brings men together, and cultivation of the arts, science and letters, which enlightens them." This is followed by an enumeration of some of its most distinguished members, Voltaire, Franklin, Houdon, Lalande, Cailhava, de Fontanes, Imbert, Vernet, Greuze, Piccini and others. The memorial then proves the exactitude of the lodge in following the Masonic work, and its zeal in practising works of benevolence. It gives an account of the object of the festival of the 9th of March, and of what transpired, and asserts that nothing reprehensible occurred. It refutes all imputations against the lodge, exposes the injustice of the accusations and shows the illegality of the judgment that was passed upon it and its members.[1]

The lodge, having justified itself from the accusations and rigorous rulings against it by the Grand Orient, proceeded to celebrate the event by another fête, and the circular announcing it has been preserved by Franklin. It is entitled, "Fête Académique pour la Clôture de la Loge des Neuf-Sœurs au Wauxhal de la Foire Saint Germain le Mercredi, 11 Août, 5779." It did not take place until a week later, however, owing to the indisposition of several members who were suffering from *la grippe,* and "the ladies, without whom there could not be a perfect celebration," were admitted; but, to avoid confusion and disorder, there was not any dancing; it was purely an academic spectacle interspersed with music and addresses. "Dr. Franklin, though having accepted the post of Vener-

[1] "Mémoires Secrets," May 30, 1779, Vol. XIV, p. 79.

able, made the condition of not holding himself bound to discharge its functions with the scrupulous exactitude devolving on the office; and as it was, above all, his name that it was desired to add to the roll of the grand officers of the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, he was left free to absent himself whenever his important occupations demanded it. This assembly was deprived of his presence, his place being filled by the First Warden, the Comte de Milly; and the gallery of the lodge-room was decorated by examples of the works of the brethren. Houdon in sculpture and Greuze in painting shone among the others."[1]

A month later the whole civilized world was startled by what was then, and has remained since, the greatest and most marvelous naval battle recorded, the fight between the *Bonhomme-Richard* and the *Serapis,* when the infant navy of the United States won the circlet she has never ceased to wear. The following spring Paul Jones visited Paris, where he was acclaimed a hero, and the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, to which he had made application, on August 16, 1779, for affiliation, was not backward in doing him honor. As has been told, it engaged Houdon to make his bust, and he was initiated to membership in the lodge on the 1st of May. Here is what Bachaumont says of this occasion:[2]

All the world knows that the celebrated Paul Jones was a sailor, following in the footsteps of our greatest characters in this line; but it was

[1] "Mémoires Secrets," August 25, 1779, Vol. XIV, p. 183.
[2] "Mémoires Secrets," July 18, 1780, Vol. XV, p. 250.

not known that he courted Apollo before he enrolled himself under the banner of Mars. This is what we learn from a discourse addressed to him by the first Orator of the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, M. de la Dixmerie, on Monday, May 1, 1780. . . . In this discourse Brother de la Dixmerie recalls the origin of Freemasonry, which he connects with ancient chivalry, the latter itself taking title from the ancient initiated. The Lodge of the Nine Sisters desired to imitate this illustrious mother which received, with as much joy as solemnity, those among its valiants who had accomplished some adventure. The brothers were assembled, and a solemn lodge was convoked for the ceremony of initiating Paul Jones. . . . The address, a little masterpiece in its way, for which one must feel grateful to the author, as in it he resists the spirit of blind disparagement which is often launched against the English, and seeing that he would heighten his Hero's fame better in giving the justice that is due to these proud islanders, has placed the valor of Jones and of his rival Pearson on an equal footing. After the eulogy a quatrain, also by M. de la Dixmerie, was read, which is original enough to be preserved.

"Jones, resourceful in battle, when met,
Acts toward enemies, so 'tis said,
As acts toward us a clever coquette;
One thinks to take him and is taken instead."

It is to this discourse that Jones refers in his letter to the Comtesse de la Vendahl of June 7, 1780, in which he regrets that the lock of his hair he incloses her is eighteen inches shorter than it was. "Before I had the honor to see you I wished to comply with the invitation of my lodge.[1] I say this in answer to your question *on reading the address* with which I was honored."

[1] To sit to Houdon for his bust.

The next year the much hoped for national event occurred, a son was born to the Queen, and in the Franklin papers[1] we find the notice that was sent to him, announcing a celebration by the Lodge of the Nine Sisters of the glorious event—the birth of a Dauphin and the return to health of the Queen—to be given on Monday, the 14th of January, 1782, in its "Local, rue Coqueron." There were again a Reception of Adoption, concert, address, music, banquet, a comedy in two acts, and a ball. Subscriptions were fixed at eighteen livres, for which each member could take a lady, but her name had to be registered with the secretary, Gaucher the engraver, at the time of subscription. It is to be assumed that nothing untoward happened on this occasion, as Bachaumont, Metra and the other contemporary chroniclers of scandal make no mention of it whatever. It may be recalled that a special day—May 13, 1782—was fixed for delivery, by the Minister from France to the Congress assembled in Philadelphia, of a letter from his Most Christian Majesty Louis XVI, announcing to his "well-beloved allies" the birth of a Dauphin, which was made a most elaborate affair.[2] It was announced to the American army by General Orders on May 28th, at Newburg on the Hudson; and three days later Washington gave a commemorative dinner at which thirteen toasts were drunk, followed by an exhibition of fireworks and a ball to close the festivities. Later, in July, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, at Philadel-

[1] American Philosophical Society.

[2] "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XXIX, p. 497.

phia, had a magnificent celebration of the occasion with a ball, at which both Washington and Rochambeau were present. These fête-days, when looked back upon, seem almost as heralds of the misfortunes that were so soon to overwhelm France.

The next important incident that brought the Lodge of the Nine Sisters to the front was the signing of the definitive treaty of peace, on the 3d of September, 1783, between Great Britain and her revolted colonies. Her Worshipful Master had occupied the leading position in the negotiations which concluded the treaty, and to honor him the lodge gave, on the 17th of December, a public fête commemorative of peace. Franklin's farewell meeting with the Lodge of the Nine Sisters was on May 4, 1785, and the following month he bade good-bye to France, but his influence did not end with the closing of his personal intercourse with the people with whom he had lived for more than eight years on terms of the most familiar intercourse, so that the last action of the Lodge of the Nine Sisters that we have to note was a greeting to him across the seas. Bachaumont records, under date of March 29, 1786,[1] "The Society known under the name of the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, composed of savants, artists and literary men, and presided over by Benjamin Franklin, the year following the one we had the misfortune to lose Voltaire, wishing to-day to show publicly its admiration of the celebrated American, whose presence they may no longer hope for, proposes to the Arts and Eloquence, two Prizes which will be two

[1] "Mémoires Secrets," Vol. XXXI, p. 214.

medals of gold, each of the value of 600 livres. The prize of eloquence shall be given for a eulogy in praise of Benjamin Franklin living, requiring a half-hour in its reading. The art prize shall be given to an allegorical drawing, height two feet and width one foot and a half, representing the services rendered by Benjamin Franklin to science and to American Liberty. All persons, excepting members of the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, may compete. The competition is open only until the last day of January, 1787, and the prizes will be distributed in a solemn assembly on the first Monday in May, 1787."

These proposed medals, if they were ever awarded, of which we have no knowledge, were not the only medallic distinctions conferred on Franklin by this lodge. Marvin, in his painstaking work on Masonic medals,[1] notes four medals issued by the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, two of which bear the bust of Franklin, one engraved by Pingret and issued to commemorate Franklin's initiation as a Master Mason of the lodge, in 1778, which was reissued in 1829; the other engraved by Bernier and issued to commemorate peace in September, 1783. The lodge also issued two other medals: an earlier one in 1776, the year of its incorporation, and a later one in honor of Comte de Milly, its president.

The life of Freemasonry in France was drawing to a close, and with the Revolution virtually ceased to exist. In 1806 the Lodge of the Nine Sisters was revived, however, in which Houdon took a

[1] "The Medals of the Masonic Fraternity," by W. T. R. Marvin, Boston, 1880, p. 40.

very active part; and Besuchet, writing in 1829,[1] says, "This lodge still exists and, faithful to the principles of Freemasonry, it always wished to keep clear of so-called higher Masonic associations. It continued as a symbolic lodge, disdaining the title of Capitular lodge or Capitular and Areopagitic lodge, that is to say, of a lodge serving as source for a Chapter or a Council of the Thirtieth Degree." It had a fitful existence until the Revolution of February, 1848, when it received its *coup de grâce*.

[1] "Précis Historique de l'Ordre de la Franc-Maçonnerie," par J. C. B., Vol. I, p. 62.

CHAPTER IX

1781–1785

STATUES OF TOURVILLE AND OF "LA FRILEUSE"—HOUDON'S REVIVAL OF THE ART OF CASTING IN BRONZE

THE Salon of 1781 was Houdon's great year and the date which helps to recall the most brilliant memories connected with his name. There were to be found the busts in marble of the Duc de Praslin; of Tronchin, doctor of medicine; of Mlle. Odéoud, of Geneva; and those in plaster of the Princesse d'Ashkoff; Mme. de Sérilly; Quesnay, the physician; Gerbier, the distinguished advocate; Palissot; and, finally, Paul Jones. His three principal works, however, were the "Diana," exhibited at his own studio, and the statues of Tourville and Voltaire, shown at the Salon.

For a long time it had been matter of surprise that the government had failed to commission Houdon for any of the four statues annually ordered, and intended to form eventually a collection representing all the illustrious men of France. A critic of the day went so far as to ask Houdon, whether the cause of such neglect, on the part of the Ministry, was known to him. He vouchsafed no reply; but he had now won too great celebrity not to take sooner or

later, without any effort or intrigue, a place of high distinction among the group of official artists. In the year 1778 the public learned with great satisfaction that Houdon had been commissioned to execute a statue of Tourville. He took two years to complete the statue, choosing to perpetuate in marble that incident, in the Admiral's career, when he exhibits to his crew the order of the King to engage at Cape La Hogue. In one hand the Admiral grasps and exhibits the order unfolded, in the other he holds his naked sword, pointing with it to the signature of the King. In this figure of the gallant Admiral, Houdon was to essay for a second time the vivid representation of one long since deceased, and to endeavor, from picture and story, to evolve a satisfactory and convincing figure. It was shown in the Salon of 1781, but contemporary criticism does not accord it very high praise. Stress is laid upon the perfection with which the details of the costume are carried out, showing again Houdon's perfect mastery over his material, but the general effect is judged as being too theatrical; a hat with plumes that the Admiral wears coming in for considerable adverse comment. Certain accessories introduced—the prow of a vessel, with guns protruding —are harshly criticized, and the suggestion is made that an anchor or a coil of rope would have been sufficient for purposes of illusion.

We note here something of the same overcrowding of symbols as in the case of Washington's statue, although there the lifelike character and distinction of the figure sweep aside these minor faults. But it is evident that the statue of Tourville must have lacked the

inspiration displayed in Houdon's noble bust of Molière, which Voltaire is said to have kissed on bended knee when he himself was tottering to his final end. Yes, portraiture and lifelike resemblance, with just the touch of idealization that true art demands, were the distinguishing traits of Houdon's genius; and that splendid galaxy of likenesses scattered over Europe and America is its triumphant vindication. We would not change the result for whole galleries of the finest imaginative work, if through that we were to be denied these masterpieces of living marble and bronze, forever perpetuating Houdon's fame.

The plaster model for a "Baigneuse," "to be executed in marble," mentioned in the Salon catalogue of 1775, was carried out in 1782, and a marble bearing Houdon's name, but not his signature, is in a New York collection. Lady Dilke, who saw it at "Bagatelle," writes quite enthusiastically about it, and in the large-paper edition of her "French Architects and Sculptors of the Eighteenth Century" gives a reproduction of it. At the time she saw it, and as the illustration shows, the statue occupied a grotto, evidently constructed for the purpose of exhibiting it to the best advantage. The figure is seated, nude, and with one foot about to be dipped in the water. Since its removal from such appropriate surroundings and its installation upon a pedestal in a gallery, the effect is very much diminished, and the writers, who have seen it, class it as a very inferior production for any other purpose than the *plein air,* for which it was originally intended. There seems to have been an

attempt recently—perhaps an accidental mistake—to identify the figure as having formed part of the group, "Female Bathing and Black Slave," exhibited at the Salon of 1783, the principal figure of which was of marble, while the slave was reproduced in lead to carry out the semblance of a negress. This fountain, originally in the garden of the Duc de Chartres, at Monceaux, near Paris, was destroyed during the French Revolution, and no trace of it exists, nor is there any record of it after that period.

To the Salon of 1783 our artist also contributed a "Diana," in bronze, and a new work, a figure in marble of life size, known as "La Frileuse" or "The Shivering One." The "Diana" has been described already in a previous chapter. The bronze reproduction here mentioned was that made for Girardot de Marigny, at whose house it was exhibited. "La Frileuse" became one of the most popular of Houdon's productions. "There was hardly a country house without a plaster cast of it ornamenting some niche on its façade, or standing conspicuously in the garden."[1] Houdon himself reproduced it more than once. At the Salon of 1791, it was shown in bronze, and this particular figure was acquired by the King of Prussia. At the Salon of 1793, a small "Frileuse" was exhibited. This may be the one now at the Louvre, a nude figure, without any drapery over the shoulders, but in the same attitude as the semi-draped one, the arms clutching the figure itself, instead

[1] Montaiglon and Duplessis, p. 265.

LA FRILEUSE

of the drapery. In both, the idea of the human form shrinking from the cold is admirably expressed. It is really intended for an allegory of "Winter," for later Houdon gave it a companion in his "Summer," which was not exhibited at the Salon. The two marbles, being pendants, were in the possession of M. Creuze de Lesser in 1829, and from him passed to the Museum at Montpellier, where they have remained ever since. This "Summer" was shown at Houdon's studio, but received little attention from the critics, so that all his other contributions to the Salon in 1783 were busts: a bust of La Fontaine, the model of which had been made in 1781, for President Aubry; and of living persons, Mlle. Robert, daughter of the Painter to the King; and the surgeon Louis, the real inventor, it is said, of the tragic instrument ascribed to Dr. Guillotin. This latter bust, we believe, is now in the Paris Academy of Medicine. Then a bust of Buffon, the great naturalist, made for the Empress of Russia. This bust, which from a contemporaneous account was probably the best in the group, was equaled only by the model of the bust of La Rive, the marble of which was exhibited at the Salon following (1785). The celebrated actor is represented in the character of *Brutus*. Barère, speaking of this bust in his "Memoirs," Vol. IV, p. 247, says, "It is not merely a striking likeness, it is one of the most expressive heads imaginable, the finest perhaps that Houdon ever executed." It now forms a part, as it should, of the splendid collection of busts at the Théâtre-Français.

It seems appropriate at this point to draw attention to another great service rendered the fine arts by Houdon. We allude to the great progress brought about by him in the art of casting statues in bronze. When he first began at it and bravely undertook both sculpture and casting, this last art was little practised and often proved ruinous. Casting in bronze, an operation requiring a great expenditure of time as well as money, had in his day produced but few satisfying works, and these attended with infinite trouble and frequent bankruptcy. It certainly required great perseverance on the part of Houdon, and still more devotion to the arts, for him to risk his savings and his modest independence, so much prized, in so hazardous an undertaking. His own words describe best his struggles and the many difficulties which he succeeded in overcoming.

"In summing up a description of my work, I can truthfully say that I have occupied myself with but two studies which have extended over my entire life, to which I sacrificed all that I gained, and which I should have rendered of greater use to my country had I been either seconded by some one, or possessed of fortune; these studies were Anatomy and the art of Casting.

"Occupying for a long while the workshops of the Municipality, I profited by this to be both Statuary and Caster or Founder. In modern days these two arts have always been exercised by separate persons, and to revive this useful art in my own country,—an art which might become lost, those having exercised it being dead when I took it up,—I constructed furnaces, I trained workmen, and, after numerous unsuccessful and expensive essays, I succeeded

in casting two statues of Diana, one of which I still possess, and my 'Frileuse.'

"Turned out of these workshops, in 1787, by Breteuil, on three weeks' notice, I purchased a house opposite, constructed new furnaces, and here cast my Apollo. Since the Revolution, not receiving orders, nearly all my works being ordered and paid for by foreigners, and wishing to keep up my workshop and prevent my precious workmen from carrying their talents abroad, I took from the principal of a moderate fortune sufficient to continue work of this kind and cast the busts of great men, Molière, Buffon, Voltaire and Rousseau. Always spurred on by love of my art, by the desire to leave to posterity an enduring monument and to give young students a subject for study, although having a family to support, I cast my large 'Écorché,' skinless figure, in 1792.

"When it was desired to cast the statue for the Panthéon, it was in my workshop they were obliged to seek for a caster, and they selected a man of great merit but one who had always worked under me and who owed to my advice, my means and perseverance, his knowledge of the art, for on coming to me he was a mere moulder.

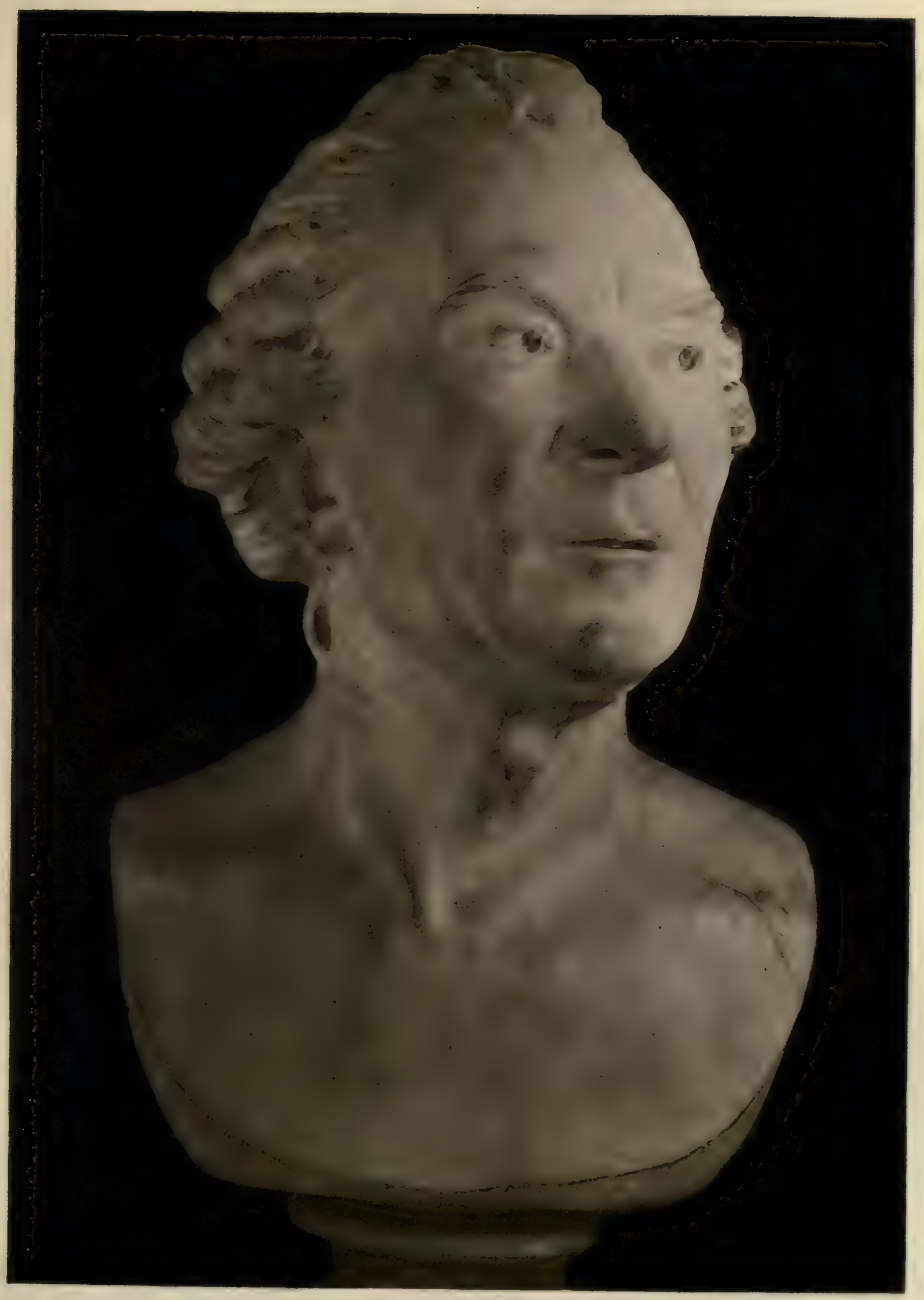
"This, Citizen, is the narrative you have required of me. As a result, I may be considered under the double aspect of Statuary and Founder. Under the first, I can create, and under the second, I can execute in a durable manner the creations of others, for I repeat, without fear of contradiction, that I am the sole artist uniting these two species of knowledge."[1]

[1] Letter to the Citizen Bachelier of the 20th Vendémiaire, Year III.

The accounts of the Salon of 1785 are somewhat meagre. Busts of the King of Sweden, Prince Henry of Prussia, M. le Pelletier de Mortfontaine, and M. de Biré, are in the catalogue, and besides the La Rive bust in marble, one of M. Le Noir. This last is spoken of in very high terms by art writers of the period. It figured at the sale of Houdon's effects in 1828, but since then seems to have been lost sight of.

For some inexplicable reason a number of portrait-busts were entered at this Salon by Houdon under a single number, so that we are unable to specify them; but among them was undoubtedly the superb marble bust of Condorcet, signed "houdon f. 1785," now in the hall of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, where it was placed by William Short, who was Secretary of Legation to Jefferson when he was in France, and subsequently became Chargé d'Affaires. The history of the bust as given by Short, in a letter to Jefferson, is curious and most interesting. He writes, October 21, 1819:

"Apropos of Philosophers: you recollect, without doubt, the marble bust of Condorcet, which stood on a marble table in the Salon of the Hôtel de la Rochefoucauld. When it was determined no longer to receive him in that house, it was thought unbecoming to keep the bust there. The grandchildren, who never liked him, availed themselves of this to have the bust transported to the lumber store-room without consulting the old lady, whose leave was generally asked on every occasion. She passed this over in silence, how-



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ever, and never made a remark or enquiry as to the disappearance of the bust. It had cost her a great effort to signify to the original that his presence had become disagreeable; she had really a parental affection for him and had given him a remarkable proof of this at the time of his marriage.[1] On her death, I asked this bust of the granddaughter, who gave it to me with great pleasure. It has been on its way here ever since I left France, in 1795, and has passed through as many *casus* and *discrimina rerum* as Eneas himself, or perhaps it was Ulysses, on its way. It has finally arrived and is at present placed, in the Philosophical Hall, in the most suitable company—the busts of Franklin, yourself, Turgot."

A month before this last exhibition had opened, our sculptor had set sail for America. We shall follow him across the Atlantic in the next chapter, giving the history of his visit to General Washington at Mount Vernon, and of the splendid artistic results therefrom, both for his own fame and for the admiration of future generations.

[1] Condorcet married, in 1786, Sophie, sister of General Grouchy, who was noted for her beauty.

CHAPTER X

1785

WASHINGTON—HOUDON'S VISIT TO AMERICA—DOMICILED AT MOUNT VERNON FOR A FORTNIGHT—MASK AND BUST FROM LIFE—STATUE AT RICHMOND, VA.

WE have now reached the event in Houdon's career that was to make his name a household name among the cultivated people of this land. On Tuesday, the 22d day of June, 1784, the Legislature of Virginia resolved, "That the Executive be requested to take measures for procuring a statue of General Washington, to be of the finest marble and the best workmanship, with the following inscription on its pedestal:

The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia
Have caused this statue to be erected
As a monument of affection and gratitude to
GEORGE WASHINGTON;
Who,
Uniting to the Endowments of the Hero the Virtues of the Patriot
And exerting both in establishing the liberties of his country,
Has rendered his name dear to his fellow citizens
And given the World an immortal example
Of true Glory.[1]

[1] Hickey's "Constitution of the United States," Philadelphia, 1847, p. 206.

This action was destined to come to fuller fruition than the action of Congress, proposed a year earlier, "that an equestrian statue should be erected to General Washington." Yet it was the anticipation of making this equestrian statue for Congress that enabled Jefferson to secure the services of Houdon, then the greatest living statuary, and without a peer since, to model the pedestrian statue for the State of Virginia. At its very outset, however, the project was beset with financial difficulties. The ruinous War of the Revolution was ended and had left exhausted treasuries in the individual States and in the General Government which sorely needed replenishing. This was a difficult task which, at times, seemed as though it would be an impossible one. A week after the passage of the above resolution, the Treasurer of the State of Virginia was directed to pay to the order of the Executive, "out of the first money that shall arise under the law for recruiting this State's quota of men to serve in the Continental army," any sum he may direct for the purpose of procuring a statue of General Washington.[1] The Treasurer communicated this resolution to the Governor, informing him at the same time, "There is no money in the Treasury at present arising from this law, and very uncertain when any may come in."[2] He therefore asked advice of the Governor, if he thought it proper that the money should be taken from any other fund. This plan the Governor evidently sanctioned, for on July 1, 1784, prior to the reception of the Treasurer's letter, Governor

[1] Calendar of State Papers of Virginia, Vol. III, p. 595. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 597.

Harrison wrote to Charles Willson Peale, the eminent portrait-painter at Philadelphia:

The Assembly of the state have voted a statue of our late worthy commander-in-chief, General Washington, and that I may be enabled to discharge the pleasing trust reposed in me in the most perfect manner possible, I have to request the favor of you to draw a full-length picture of him immediately, and, as soon as it is sufficiently dry, to have it packed up in the most secure manner and shipped in the first ship bound for France to the address of the honble Thomas Jefferson. The expense of which and your charge for drawing shall be remitted you as soon as you shall be pleased to favor me with the amount.[1]

On the 20th of the month the Governor advised Jefferson:

The Assembly of this state have voted a statue of our late worthy commander-in-chief, General Washington, and have directed their intentions to be carried into execution by the Executive. For particulars, I refer you to the enclosed resolution. You will observe they have only provided for one side of the pedestal, and that the others, with the dress, etc., are left for the exercise of the genius of the Executive. This would be a very pleasing employment for us, if we had ever turned our thoughts that way or were adepts in the Science of devices, emblems, etc. But as we are not, we have unanimously fixed on you and my friend Dr. Franklin, who, we all know, are fully competent to the task. I therefore most earnestly request the favor of you to undertake it. . . . To enable the Artist to finish his work in the most perfect manner, I have ordered Mr. Peale to send to your address a full-length picture of the General as soon as possible. The intention of the Assembly is that the statue should be the work of the most masterly hand. I shall therefore leave it to you

[2] Governor's MS. Letter-book, State Library, Richmond, Va.

to find out the best in any of the European states. To defray the expense certain funds are appropriated that will undoubtedly produce the money, and it shall be remitted you long before the work can be completed. . . . You will be so obliging, as soon as you have fixed on the devices and agreed for the statue, to favor me with the particulars of the former and a copy of the agreement, that there may be no deficiency in the remittances, either in point of time or quantity.[1]

A week later he similarly advised Dr. Franklin, and, on August 15, Peale acknowledges the Governor's letter of six weeks before, telling him he has begun a whole-length portrait of the General and will make all despatch with it that he can, consistently with his endeavors to do well. He adds:

In the background I intend to introduce the best idea I have of a perspective view of York and Gloster, and the surrender of the British army, which I believe may be useful to the statuary, if any pieces of history are to be made in bas-relief on the pedestal of the Statue.[2]

On October 30, Peale advises Governor Harrison that he has finished the portrait of Washington, which shall go to France by the first ship.

"Besides the view of York and Gloster," he writes, "I have introduced in a nearer ground French and American officers with their colors *displayed,* and between them the British with their colors *cased.* These figures serve to tell the story at first sight, which the more distant could not do." He then adds this very interesting postscript: "The price of a coppy of General Washing-

[1] Governor's MS. Letter-book, State Library, Richmond, Va.
[2] "American Historical Record," Vol. I, p. 81.

ton's in large whole length is thirty guineas."[1] A copy of this letter the Governor sent to Jefferson, in order that he might know the meaning of the devices in the picture, at the same time inclosing him a bill of exchange for 8957 livres tournois at a cost of £550, "which will be sufficient to set the work a going."[2] A few days later—November 20—the Governor expressed his appreciation of Peale's readiness to comply with his request and expedition in fulfilling it, and inclosed him a bill on Robert Morris for $143.33 in payment for the work.[3] The painting was duly forwarded to Jefferson, who, on April 15, 1785, acknowledges its safe arrival to the Governor,[4] but what became of it has been an interesting inquiry for many years. It may be resting somewhere in France, unknown; but the minute particulars of its details given by the painter should lead easily to its identification.

Upon receiving this commission from the State of Virginia, Jefferson wrote to Washington, December 10, 1784:[5]

The Executive of our State have remitted, to Dr. Franklin and myself, the care of having the statue made, which the Assembly directed as a mark of their gratitude to you. I was unwell when I received the letter and have not yet been able to see and confer with Dr. Franklin on the subject. I find that a Monsieur Houdon, of this place, possesses the reputation of being the first statuary in the world. I sent for him and had some conversation with him on the subject. He thinks it cannot be

[1] "American Historical Record," Vol. I, p. 82.
[2] Governor's MS. Letter-book, State Library, Richmond, Va.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Calendar of State Papers of Virginia, Vol. IV, p. 24.
[5] Sparks, "Correspondence of the American Revolution," Vol. IV, p. 83.

perfectly done from a picture, and is so enthusiastically fond of being the executor of this work, that he offers to go to America for the purpose of forming your bust from the life, leaving all his business here in the meantime. He thinks that being three weeks with you would suffice to make his model of plaister, with which he will return here, and the work will employ him three years. If Dr. Franklin concurs with me, we shall send him over, not having time to ask your permission and await your answer. I trust that, having given to your Country so much of your time heretofore, you will add the short space which this operation will require, to enable them to transmit to posterity the form of the person whose actions will be delivered to them by history. Monsieur Houdon is at present engaged in making a statue of the King of France. A bust of Voltaire executed by him is said to be one of the finest in the world.

It was not until the 12th of January, 1785, that Jefferson acknowledged Governor Harrison's letter of the 20th of July, which had come to his hands on the 29th of November.[1] He writes:[2]

There could be no question raised as to the Sculptor who should be employed; the reputation of Mons. Houdon, of this city, being unrivalled in Europe. He is resorted to for the statues of most of the sovereigns in Europe. On conversing with him, Dr. Franklin and myself became satisfied that no statue could be executed so as to obtain the approbation of those to whom the figure of the original is known, but on actual view by the artist. Of course no statue of Genl. Washington which might be a true evidence of his figure to posterity could be made from his picture. Statues are made every day from portraits; but if the person be living they are always condemned by those who know him for want of resemblance, and this furnishes a conclusive presumption that

[1] These dates emphasize what is so generally lost sight of in the present days of rapid transit—the long intervals between the mailing and receipt of letters at the period of which we are writing. [2] Ford's "Writings of Jefferson," Vol. IV, p. 26.

similar representatives of the dead are equally unfaithful. Mons. Houdon, whose reputation is such as to make it a principal object, was so anxious to be the person who should hand down the figure of the General to future ages, that without hesitating a moment he offered to abandon his business here, to leave the statues of Kings unfinished, and to go to America to take the true figure by actual inspection and mensuration. We believe from his character that he will not propose any very considerable sum for making this journey; probably two or three hundred guineas, as he must necessarily be absent three or four months, and his expenses will make at least a hundred guineas of the money. When the whole merit of the piece was to depend upon this previous expenditure, we could not doubt your approbation of the measure; and that you would think with us that things that are handsome or just should never be done by halves. We shall regulate the article of expense as œconomically as we can with justice to the wishes of the world. This article, together with habit, attitude, devices, etc., are now under consideration, and till they be decided on, we cannot ultimately contract with Mons. Houdon. We are agreed in one circumstance, that the size shall be precisely that of life. Were we to have executed a statue in any other case, we should have preferred making it somewhat larger than life; because, as they are generally a little elevated, they appear smaller, but we think it important that some one monument should be preserved of the true size as well as figure, from which all other countries, and our own, at any future day when they shall desire it, may take copies, varying them in their dimensions as may suit the particular situation in which they wish to place them. The duty as well as the glory of this presentation belongs peculiarly to Virginia. We are sensible that the eye alone considered will not be quite as well satisfied; but connecting the consideration that the whole and every part of it presents the true size of the life, we suppose the beholders will receive a greater pleasure on the whole. Should we agree with Mons. Houdon, he will come over in the April packet and of course may be expected in Virginia about the last of May.

His stay with the General will be about a month. This will be employed in forming his bust of plaister. With this he will return to Paris, and will then be between two and three years in executing the whole in marble. . . .

These two letters from Jefferson, to Washington and to Harrison, establish this interesting and important point concerning Houdon, that his position as "the first Sculptor of his day" was firmly established among his contemporaries in Europe—a reputation that a century has not succeeded in lessening, but, on the contrary, has served to establish more firmly. For Jefferson was not confined to France in the selection of a sculptor, as has often been stated, out of regard for the amity shown by that country to this, but he was given "all the European states" from which to select the most masterly hand, and that hand was, without question, Jean Antoine Houdon.

Houdon's refusal to make the statue except from life, and his perfect willingness to cross the ocean for the purpose, which was no inconsiderable undertaking in 1785, showed the true spirit of the artist and should never be forgotten by lovers of art and by admirers of Washington. La Fayette sent by Houdon's hand a letter to Washington, written July 4, 1785,[1] in which he says, "Nothing but the love of glory and his respect for you could induce him to cross the seas, as his business here far exceeds his leisure, and his numerous and gratified friends make him very happy at home."

Before the final agreement for the work could be consummated,

[1] Sparks, "Correspondence of the American Revolution," Vol. IV, p. 106.

however, Houdon was taken seriously ill, and for a time his life was despaired of. This made it impossible for him to take the April packet, as Jefferson had anticipated; and as Dr. Franklin was preparing to return home, Houdon's departure was deferred until the two could journey together. In order to make this possible, the French government, on June 30, granted Houdon permission to travel for six months. One prudent condition that he exacted before he would leave France gave Jefferson no little tribulation. He required that his life should be insured for 10,000 livres for the benefit of his family, who were dependent upon him, which, after much negotiation, was finally effected in London by John Adams.[1]

Jefferson did everything possible to provide for Houdon a warm welcome, both as an artist and as a man, in the new country, to whose tongue, even, he was a stranger. He wrote Washington, July 10, 1785:[2]

Mr. Houdon would much sooner have had the honor of attending you, but for a spell of sickness, which long induced us to despair of his recovery, and from which he is but recently recovered. He comes now for the purpose of lending the aid of his art to transmit you to posterity. He is without rivalship in it, being employed from all parts of Europe in whatever is capital. He has had difficulty in withdrawing himself from an order of the Empress of Russia, a difficulty, however, that arose from a desire to show her respect, but which never gave him a moment's hesitation about his present voyage, which he considers as promising the brightest chapter of his history. I have spoken of him as an artist only; but I

[1] Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress.
[2] Randolph's Jefferson, Vol. I, p. 248.

can assure you also that, as a man, he is disinterested, generous, candid and panting for glory; in every circumstance meriting your good opinion. He will have need to see you much while he shall have the honor of being with you; which you can the more freely admit, as his eminence and merit give him admission into genteel society here. He will need an interpreter. I suppose you could procure some person from Alexandria, who might be agreeable to yourself, to perform the office. He brings with him one or two subordinate workmen, who, of course, will associate with their own class.[1]

Two days later he addressed letters of introduction to Richard Henry Lee, Monroe, and the entire Virginia delegation in Congress. The last cited letter is very important as showing Houdon's status in relation to the proposed equestrian statue.[2]

In consequence of the orders of the Legislative and Executive bodies of Virginia, I have engaged Mons. Houdon to make the statue of Genl. Washington. For this purpose it is necessary for him to see the General. He therefore goes with Doctr. Franklin, and will have the honor of delivering this himself. As his journey is at the expense of the state, according to our contract, I will pray you to favor him with your patronage and councils and to protect him as much as possible from those impositions to which strangers are but too much exposed. I have advised him to proceed in the stages to the General's. I have also agreed, if he can see Generals Green and Gates, whose busts he has a desire to make, that he may make a moderate deviation for this purpose, after he has done with General Washington. But the most important object with him is to be employed to make General Washington's Equestrian statue for Congress. Nothing but the expectation of this could have engaged

[1] Houdon took with him three "élèves." The names of two of them, M. Begler and M. Micheli, have been preserved by Montaiglon and Duplessis, p. 319.

[2] Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress.

him to have undertaken the voyage, as the pedestrian statue for Virginia will not make it worth the business he loses by absenting himself. I was therefore obliged to assure him of my recommendation for this greater work. Having acted in this for the state, you will, I hope, think yourselves in some measure bound to patronize and urge his being employed by Congress. I would not have done this myself nor asked you to do it, did I not see that it would be better for Congress to put this business into his hands than those of any other person living, for these reasons: (1) He is, without rivalship, the first statuary of his age; as a proof of which he receives orders from every other country for things intended to be capital. (2) He will have seen General Washington, have taken his measures in every part, and of course whatever he does of him will have the merit of being original, from which other workmen can only furnish copies. (3) He is in possession of the house, the furnaces, and all the apparatus provided for making the statue of Louis XV. If any other workman is employed, this will all be to be provided anew, and of course to be added to the price of the statue, for no man can ever expect to make two equestrian statues. The addition to which this would be to the price, will much exceed the expectation of any person who has not seen that apparatus. In truth, it is immense. As to the price of the work, it will be much greater than Congress is aware of, probably. I have enquired somewhat into this circumstance and find the prices of those made for two centuries past have been from 120,000 guineas down to 16,000 guineas, according to the size. And as far as I have seen, the smaller they are the more agreeable. . . . In making a contract with Mons. Houdon, it would not be proper to advance money but as his disbursements and labor advance. As it is a work of many years, this will render the expense insensible. The pedestrian statue in marble is to take three years. The equestrian, of course, much more. Therefore the sooner it is begun, the better.

This letter is of primary interest. Its very opening sentence

shows that while Franklin had been invited by Governor Harrison to assist Jefferson in the selection of a suitable statue, the selection of a sculptor was Jefferson's alone. "I have engaged Mons. Houdon," are his words, showing that when Governor Harrison wrote him in his first letter, "I shall therefore leave it *to you* to find out the best in any of the European states," the personal pronoun was used literally for Jefferson and not for Jefferson and Franklin. This is important because many biographers of Franklin have stated, and other writers have followed them, that it was Franklin who selected Houdon to make this now famous statue of Washington, which we show is clearly erroneous. There is every reason, too, why Jefferson should have had the laboring oar. He was in the prime of life, just past forty years, a Virginian, and had been already Governor of the State before he was sent to Paris as Minister to the Court of France, where he had only recently arrived. Franklin was approaching his eightieth year, was suffering the physical infirmities of age, and was preparing to lay down his public burdens and return home to rest during his remaining years—that is, if such a man could rest—so that Jefferson, single-handed, would have to attend to the completion of the work during the ensuing three years it was to require. Of course, it is not to be questioned but that Jefferson took counsel with Franklin over the selection of the sculptor, though Jefferson, as we have seen by his letter of December 10 to Washington, suggested Houdon's name before he had even been able "to see and confer with Dr. Franklin on the

subject." That Houdon would meet with Franklin's full approval is clear from the relations that existed between the sculptor and the philosopher, as shown in our chapter on "Busts of Franklin"; and the letter we there give, of November 8, 1783, from Houdon, relative to the book that Franklin wanted, "touching the mould of Louis XV,"[1] taken in connection with Houdon's known ambition to model the equestrian statue that Congress had voted should be erected to Washington, and, without the hope of receiving which we are told he would not have journeyed here, must have been the occasion of Houdon's introduction to Franklin.

This ambition and hope Houdon seems to have tenaciously clung to, for on July 8, 1786, we find Jefferson writing to John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs,[2] "At the desire of Monsieur Houdon I have the honor to enclose to you his propositions for making the Equestrian statue of General Washington."

Enclosures.[3]—Mr. Houdon is in possession of the workhouse of the city of Paris, employed for casting large works in Bronze and Drilling on the spot where they are erected, and requires for the execution of an Equestrian Statue of General Washington in bronze the sum 600,000 livres and the term of ten years from the present instant for the furnishing of it, in case the bargain should be signed by both parties in the course of the present year. The price being agreed on, he submits the distribu-

[1] "Description des travaux qui ont precédé, accompagné et suivi la fonte en bronze d'un seul jet de la statue équestre de Louis XV, le bien-aimé. Dressé sur les mémoires de M. Lempereur par M. Mariette. Paris, 1768."

[2] Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress.

[3] *Ibid.*

tion of the payments to the convenience of the Congress, submitting, however, for their consideration that the heaviest part of the expense will fall on him in the first years. He thinks he ought to recommend to have the work performed in two separate casts,—that is, the General in one cast and the horse in another,—since this method would not be any prejudice to the uniformity of the whole work; which, on the contrary, would be benefited in every part as well in its execution as in its solidity and facility of transporting it. Mr. Houdon insists the rather upon this point from the experience he and his workmen have acquired in their endeavor to perfect themselves, as he knows of no founder at present equal in ability to those which he has himself instructed, at a great expense, during fifteen years that he has been in possession of the city's foundry, where the equestrian statue of Louis XV was cast, and those who were employed in that work are now dead.

The second proposition was in the same words, except that the time was shortened to "eight years" and the cost correspondingly increased to "1,000,000 livres."

Houdon was so full of the project that he did actually model an equestrian statuette "en plâtre d'environ 1 pied," which was exhibited in the Salon of 1793. Unfortunately, all trace of this model is lost. It was not even in the sale of 1828, or we might yet hope to have it reproduced and thus do tardy honor to Houdon and have an equestrian statue worthy of Washington.[1] In 1804 Houdon

[1] Délerot and Legrelle, in writing of Houdon's desire to execute the equestrian statue of Washington, say that he was so preoccupied with the idea that, with such an end in view, he made a cast of a skinless horse, which he later presented to the Academy of Fine Arts. But they are mistaken when they add that this project "never reached even a beginning looking to its execution." They have overlooked the model in the Salon of 1793.

must have had his hope of yet making this equestrian statue of Washington, an object so near to his heart, rekindled by a correspondence that he had with Chancellor Livingston, then the American representative in France. We find Houdon writing to Livingston, "5 Germinal [26th of March], 1804,"[1] a repetition of the terms and conditions he gave to Jay, adding that

> This price is one that several sculptors asked for the statue of Peter the Great in Russia, and which was given to M. Falconet some thirty or forty years since. In spite of the increase in the price of everything, I ask no other, because I desire to respond worthily to the confidence with which the United States honor me, and I recall with gratitude that, in 1785, I was chosen by them to execute the pedestrian statue of the General; that then I was given the hope of executing this equestrian one, and for which I then made the necessary measurements upon the General himself.

But nothing came of this, and the subject seems to have been dropped for half a century, when Clark Mills was employed to make the equestrian statue now in Washington—in the words of the Act of Congress, "to substantially carry into effect the resolution passed August 7, 1783."

Three days after Jefferson wrote his letter to the Virginian delegates in Congress, he gives Patrick Henry, the new Governor of Virginia, the terms of the contract with Houdon. He writes, July 15, 1785:[2]

[1] Autograph Collection of Simon Gratz, Esq., of Philadelphia.
[2] Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress.

Mr. Houdon's long and desperate illness has retarded till now his departure for Virginia. We had hoped from our first conversations with him that it would be easy to make our terms, and that the cost of the statue and expense of sending him would be but about a thousand guineas. But when we came to settle this precisely he thought himself obliged to ask vastly more, insomuch that one moment we thought our treaty at an end. But, unwilling to commit such a work to an inferior hand, we made him an ultimate proposition on our part. He was as much mortified at the prospect of not being the executor of such a work as we were not to have it done by such a hand. He therefore acceded to our terms, tho' we are satisfied he will be a considerable loser. We were led to insist on them because in a former letter to the Governor I had given the hope we entertained of bringing the whole within 1000 guineas. The terms are 25,000 livres or 1000 English guineas, the English guinea being worth 25 livres, for the statue and pedestal. Besides this, we pay his expenses going and returning, which we expect will be between four and five thousand livres; and if he dies in the voyage, we pay his family 10,000 livres. This latter proposition was disagreeable to us. But he has a father, mother and sisters who have no other resource but in his labours; and he is himself one of the best men in the world. He therefore made it a *sine qua non,* without which all would have been off. . . . I enclose you for a more particular detail a copy of the agreement.[1] Dr. Franklin, being on his departure, did not become a party to the instrument, tho' it has been concluded with his approbation. He was disposed to give 250 guineas more, which would have split the difference between the actual terms and Mr. Houdon's demand. I wish the state, at the conclusion of this work, may agree to give him this much more, because I am persuaded he will be a loser, which I am sure their generosity would not wish. But I have not given him the smallest expectation of it, chusing the proposition would come from the state, which will be more honorable. You will perceive by the agreement that I pay him imme-

[1] This agreement has not been preserved in the Archives of Virginia.

diately 8333⅓ livres, which is to be employed in getting the marble in Italy, its transportation, etc. The package and transportation of his stucco to make the moulds will be about 500 livres. I shall furnish him with money for his expenses in France, and I have authorized Dr. Franklin, when he arrives in Philadelphia, to draw on me for money for his other expenses, going, staying and returning. . . . Dr. Franklin leaves Passy this morning.[1] As he travels in a litter, Mr. Houdon will follow him some days hence, and will embark with him for Philadelphia. I am in hopes he will not stay in America more than a month.

On the 20th, Houdon joined Franklin at Havre; thence they crossed together to England and sailed from Southampton on July 28, landing in Philadelphia on September 14, 1785. But poor Houdon had trials and tribulations before he sailed that were not easily cured on his arrival. We knew that he was disappointed by the non-arrival at Havre of his tools and materials, and that he had to leave without them and delay his visit to Mount Vernon until he could supply himself anew. But we did not know to what sore straits the sculptor was really put, until the recent discovery, among the Franklin MSS. in the American Philosophical Society, of a letter from Mons. Le Veillard[2] to Temple Franklin, and a draft of Temple Franklin's reply,[3] bearing on the subject. The story is very graphically told in a few words by M. Le Veillard: "I have learned with pain that your belongings are still lying at Havre. . . .

[1] Franklin sets down in his private journal (Sparks's Franklin, Vol. I, p. 587): "Set out on my return home, July 12, 1785, leaving Passy." This was three days earlier than Jefferson writes and shows the uncertainty of even contemporaneous records.

[2] October 9, 1785.

[3] March 27, 1786.

Poor M. Houdon, with his half-dozen shirts for four persons! He must have passed through several Sundays without a clean one. And the tools and the material for the Genl. Washington will be of American clay with American tools." To which Temple Franklin replied: "Our belongings have reached here after a voyage of three months. Yes! M. Houdon has suffered much. During the passage we took up a subscription of Shirts and Stockings in his favor, and on arrival here he was obliged to make purchases for himself and for his workmen." These letters, telling so plainly of Houdon's plight, make clear what before seemed very odd when we found, in Houdon's account of expenses of his journey to and from America, so many items for clothing, of all kinds, purchased for himself and his three "élèves."[1] Such details add much interest to the picture, and surround it with an atmosphere which otherwise would be lacking.

On September 20 Franklin advised Washington of his arrival, with Houdon, and that the latter would wait upon him as soon as he had supplied himself with materials and instruments. On the 26th Washington replied to Franklin: "When it suits M. Houdon to come hither I will accommodate him in the best manner I am able and shall endeavor to render his stay as agreeable as I can." The same day he wrote to Houdon:

By a letter, which I have lately had the honour to receive from Dr.

[1] This important document is printed in Appendix "A" from the original in Houdon's autograph in the Archives of Virginia in the State Library at Richmond.

Franklin, at Philadelphia, I am informed of your arrival at that place. Many letters from very respectable characters in France, as well as the Doctor's, inform me of the occasion, for which, though the cause is not of my seeking, I feel the most agreeable and grateful sensations. I wish the object of your mission had been more worthy of the masterly genius of the first statuary in Europe; for thus you are represented to me. It will give me pleasure, Sir, to welcome you to the seat of my retirement; and whatever I have, or can procure, that is necessary to your purposes, or convenient and agreeable to your wishes, you must freely command, as inclination to oblige you will be among the last things in which I shall be found deficient, either on your arrival or during your stay.

Houdon, having remained in Philadelphia over two weeks, arrived at Mount Vernon in the night of Sunday, October 2, 1785, under which date Washington enters in his diary:

After we were in bed (about eleven o'clock in the evening), Mr. Houdon, sent from Paris by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jefferson to take my Bust, in behalf of the State of Virginia, with three young men assistants, introduced by a Mr. Perin, a French gentleman of Alexandria, arrived here by water from the latter place. . . . . .

The next entry is under "Friday, October 7th":

Sat this day, as I had done yesterday, for Mr. Houdon to form my bust.

Then follows:

Monday, October 10. Observed the process for preparing the plaister of Paris and mixing of it according to Mr. Houdon.

Wednesday, October 12. In the evening Mr. Madison came.

Friday, October 14. Mr. Madison went away.

Wednesday, October 19. Mr. Houdon, having finished his business which bro't him hither, went up on Monday [17th], with his people,

work and implements, in my barge, to Alexandria, to take a passage in the Stage for Philadelphia the next morning.

These autograph entries by Washington are of the first importance in the history of the Houdon portrait of Washington, for they fix the exact time that the sculptor was at Mount Vernon to have been a fortnight,[1] and also the exact day when the mould of the living face was made. The latter was made in the presence of James Madison, and the notation of Madison's arriving on the evening of October 12 and leaving on October 14 gives us, without the slightest doubt, Thursday, October 13, 1785, as the day and date when the cast of Washington was made. Fortunately, and most marvelous to relate, the mask of Washington's face, cast from the matrix taken from his living features, exists to-day, and has recently come into possession of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.[2] It was taken to Paris by Houdon, who showed it to Rembrandt Peale in his studio in 1808, when Peale painted Houdon's portrait, now in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.[3] At the sale of Houdon's effects after his decease in 1828, this mask was purchased by Robert Walsh, of Philadelphia, who brought it to America, and later it became the property of John Struthers, a Scotch stone-cutter in

[1] Délerot and Legrelle's account of Houdon's visit to America is nearly as erroneous as the statement in the new "Biographie Générale," 1861, Vol. XXV, p. 254, which says that "Houdon resided with Washington *in Philadelphia* and there made the bust," etc.

[2] It is a great pity that Houdon opened the eyes in this mask, and the reason for his doing so is unaccountable.

[3] Letter from Rembrandt Peale to John Durand, Editor of "The Crayon," September 5, 1857, in possession of Mr. Hart.

that city, who had in his employ a German sculptor named Ferdinand Pettrick, to whom in 1839 he gave the Houdon life-mask of Washington. Pettrick returned to Europe and settled in Rome, where he was known and assisted in his old age by the eminent American poet and sculptor, William Wetmore Story; and from his death-bed at Palestrina, Pettrick sent his wife with the life-mask to Story, desiring that he should become the possessor of this, the most important iconographic memorial of the great Washington that exists, and Story bought it.[1] It was the choicest treasure of Mr. Story's studio, in the Palazzo Barberini, until his death, when it passed to his sculptor son, Waldo Story, who in February, 1908, disposed of it to Mr. Morgan. This is the history and pedigree of the only mask from Washington's face that is authentic, the plaster faces exhibited in many public collections as "Houdon's mask of Washington" being nothing but casts from the face of a Houdon bust, and a very much worn one at that, of no artistic or historical value whatever.

Mr. Story, in his article already cited, makes a long and labored argument to show that Houdon did not model a bust of Washington from life at Mount Vernon, but satisfied himself with the mask and made the bust from it after his return to Paris. He sees great differences between the bust and the life-mask, all of which favor the mask, notwithstanding which he admits that "a mask from the living face, though it repeats exactly the true forms of the original,

[1] "The Mask of Washington," by W. W. Story, Harper's Weekly of February 26, 1887.

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lacks the spirit and expression of the real person." But Mr. Story does not tell us with what bust of Washington by Houdon he compared the mask, and we have found, in pursuing our studies and investigations of this subject, that there are great differences among them, owing, of course, to the distance the example is removed from the original.[1] The value of masks from life or after death, as portraits, I shall not discuss here, as I have already written fully upon that subject;[2] but we have positive affirmative proof of the fallacy of Mr. Story's argument in the present instance.

Houdon did model a bust of Washington from life at Mount Vernon in October, 1785.

Washington not only records in his diary sitting "for Mr. Houdon to form my Bust," but it was exhibited to Congress and to Franklin, Hopkinson, Thomson and others, who have recorded it.

Houdon arrived in Philadelphia, on his return from Mount Vernon, in the evening of October 20,[3] and on the 24th wrote Franklin the following letter:[4]

I have the honor to recall to Mons. Dr. Franklin before Mons. his son makes an estimate of the amount I shall be obliged to draw before leav-

[1] These endless reproductions, some of them having even the audacity to forge his signature, are so many counterfeits of Houdon's work, from which he was not free even in his lifetime, and of which he often bitterly complained as being detrimental to his fame as to his pocket. His Écorché, Voltaire, Rousseau and Washington were those most commonly pirated, and this accounts for the dissimilarity between casts of what is intended for the same head.

[2] Browere's "Life-Masks of Great Americans," by Charles Henry Hart, New York, 1899.

[3] Letter of Franklin to Ferdinand Grand. Smyth's Franklin, Vol. IX, p. 471.

[4] Autograph Collection of Simon Gratz, Esq., Philadelphia.

ing, that I owe here to M. Thovarre [?], partner in the house of de Heyder Veydt, 25 louis borrowed at Baltimore in order to pursue my journey. To the tailor since my return from the General's about 8, also. The expenses at the Inn here as well, which I cannot as yet estimate. Other like unavoidable expenditures. What I re-owe in the house of M. Dr. F. The journeys and stays before embarking for our return to France. Those of our passage money there from Orient to Paris, or from London to Paris, if there is time to be gained in following the shortest route. The cost of these routes I have no knowledge of and I ask pardon for it. A sum for unforeseen happenings or letters of credit available at different points, a matter which appears to be very essential, judging by my experience in Virginia.

HOUDON.

The next day, while Houdon was still in Philadelphia, Francis Hopkinson, poet, artist, lawyer and statesman, wrote to Jefferson:[1]

This will be delivered to you by Mr. Houdon, the artist who came over to make a model for a statue of Gl. Washington. *I yesterday saw the head he has modelled of that great man.* I am charmed with it. He is certainly a most capital artist. There is no looking at this bust without admiration and delight. The noble air, sublime expression and faithful likeness evince the hand of a master. You will be charmed with it. Mr. Houdon, having executed the purpose of his voyage, is impatient to return.

The following day—October 26—William Temple Franklin writes to John Jay at New York:[2]

Mr. Houdon, of whom you have heard me speak, will have the honor of delivering this to you. He is lately returned from Virginia, where he

[1] Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress.
[2] Johnston's Jay Correspondence, Vol. IV, p. 174.

has been fulfilling the object of his coming to America, in modelling the bust of General Washington, in which he has been singularly successful. He is now about returning to France by the way of N. York. *I have persuaded him to take with him the Genl's bust that he has given us,* in order to show to Congress what he is capable of doing and thereby obtaining the preference in being employed to make the Equestrian Statue voted long since.

Truthful Charles Thomson, who was never carried away by his emotions, wrote to Jefferson from New York, November 2, 1785:[1]

Mr. Houdon has been to Mount Vernon and taken the bust of our amiable General. *He exhibited it to the view of Congress.* It appears to me to be executed in a masterly manner. I acknowledge my want of skill to judge of performance of this nature, but there is in the air and attitude of this, something that pleases me. Most other pictures seem to have their attention turned on the objects around them, but in this the artist, by elevating the chin and countenance, has given it the air of one looking forward into futurity. But I will not venture any criticisms for fear of betraying my ignorance.

What became of the bust that, Temple Franklin wrote Jay, "Houdon *has given us,*" no one can tell. Doubtless, made as it was of comparatively fragile material, it long since was ground to dust. That it was returned to the Doctor's possession is shown by his letter to Houdon, November 30, 1785:[2] "The bust is returned perfectly safe, and continues to be the admiration of all that see it." Surely, after this array of contemporaneous evidence, now brought

[1] Collection of the New York Historical Society, 1878, p. 214.
[2] Autograph Collection of Oliver K. Brooks, Esq., Cleveland, Ohio.

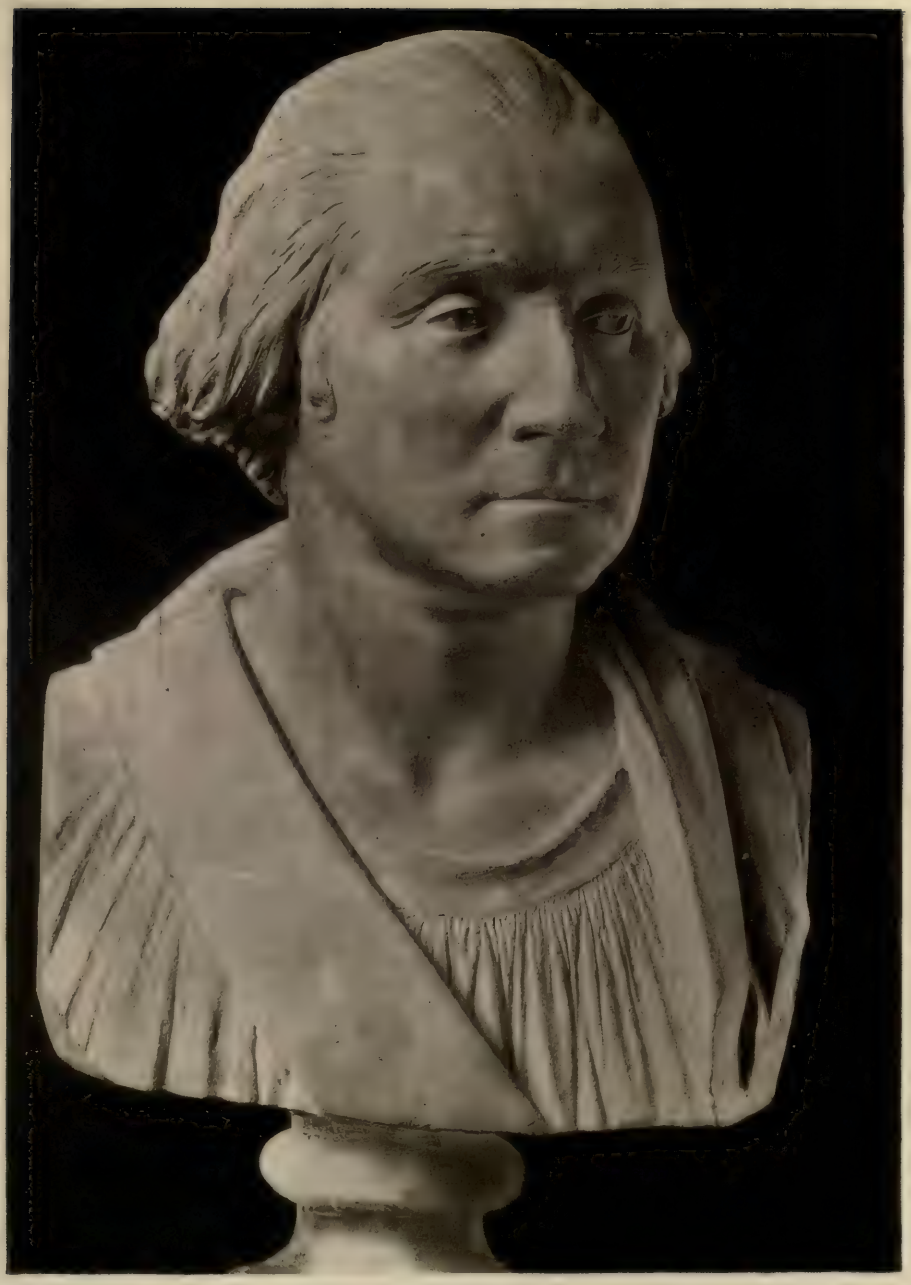
together for the first time, there can be no question as to the fact that Houdon did model his bust of Washington direct from life, and not from the mask that he took *ex majori cautela.* That he prized this mask, however, very highly, is evidenced by the fact that when he returned to France, reaching his home on Christmas day of 1785, he took with him, as Jefferson wrote Washington, January 4, 1786,[1] *"the mould of the face only,* having left the other parts of his work with his workmen to come by some other conveyance."

Among the articles thus brought to him by his workmen[2] was the bust he had modeled and cast at Mount Vernon. This bust Houdon preserved with as reverent care as he did the life-mask, until his death; and at the sale of his effects it was bought by M. Walferdin, who bequeathed it to the Louvre,[3] where it now is, and from which our reproduction has been made. It will be seen to be very different from the ordinary commercial "Houdon bust of Washington"; and, while a comparison between it and the life-mask will show a marked similarity in form and contour, the bust has the advantage of the mask "in spirit and expression," and shows plainly

[1] Randolph's Jefferson, Vol. I, p. 393.

[2] "Houdon is arrived in Paris, but has not yet brought your bust, which he expects by water from London." La Fayette to Washington, February 8, 1786. Memoirs and Correspondence of La Fayette, 1837, Vol. II, p. 125.

[3] "The terra-cotta original bust of Washington, modelled from life, which was sold at the sale of the artist's effects in 1828 and which was bought by M. Walferdin, was bequeathed by him to the Louvre." Grimm-Diderot Correspondance, Paris, 1880, Vol. XIV, p. 297, *n.*



WASHINGTON

that Mr. Story never could have studied this bust in the Louvre, when he commented upon the dissimilarity between the two, as one of the reasons for his claiming that the bust was not modeled from life but from the mask was "the nudity of the neck and shoulders."[1] The original bust in the Louvre, as the plate shows, is draped, with a tunic and band, over the shoulders, which could not have escaped Mr. Story, had he ever seen it. He doubtless only knew the ordinary casts called "Houdon's Washington," which have the neck and shoulders bare, and which, from being constantly cast and recast, have so much deteriorated and are so far removed from the original as to be next to worthless.[2]

The bust of Washington that Houdon presented to Franklin was not the only bit of his handicraft that he left in this country. Among his belongings that did not arrive here until he had been at home several months, were a "Diana and several other works of his own composition," of which Temple Franklin in his letter to M. le Veillard, already cited, says:

I fear that we shall find no one here capable of putting together the principal figures, the different parts of which having been separated for convenience in packing. As it is, not one of the cases has been as yet opened, awaiting the arrival of Mr. Pyne, the Painter, now in Mary-

[1] Délerot and Legrelle also err in saying that Houdon modeled his bust from the cast of the mould of Washington's face.

[2] A very interesting comparison can also be made between the Houdon original bust, the life-mask and Stuart's *first* portrait of Washington, when the harmony of the three will be seen to be very convincing as to their truthfulness.

land,[1] to whom the matter was confided. I beg of you to inform M. Houdon of this and assure him that I shall do all that in me lies for the sale of the objects designed to be sold.

What became of these art treasures we are unable to say, but we know from the letter of Dupont de Nemours to Jefferson, that among them was a marble bust of Franklin that was offered for sale to the State of Virginia but not purchased.

No sooner had Houdon returned than several important questions arose in regard to the statue; the most essential being the costume in which Washington should be represented, and the inscription it should bear. On the first question, Jefferson, in his letter to Washington of January 4, 1786, writes:

Dr. Franklin, who was joined with me in the superintendence of this just monument, having left us before what is called the costume of the statue was decided on, I cannot so well satisfy myself, and I am persuaded I should not so well satisfy the world, as by consulting your own wish or inclination as to this article. Permit me, therefore, to ask you whether there is any particular dress, or any particular attitude, which you would rather wish to be adopted.

To this Washington replied, August 1, 1786:[2]

In answer to your obliging enquiries respecting the dress, attitude, etc., which I would wish to have given to the statue in question, I have only to observe that, not having sufficient knowledge in the art of sculpture to

[1] Robert Edge Pine, the English painter, who came to this country and settled in Philadelphia in 1784, and died there in 1788. It is not at all unlikely that some of these works of Houdon became the attraction of Pine's public exhibition of works of art, which after his death were sold and finally became the nucleus of the Boston Museum collection, as in the latter, when dispersed in 1892, was a Houdon bust of Paul Jones.

[2] Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress.

oppose my judgment to the taste of Connoisseurs, I do not desire to dictate in the matter. On the contrary, I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever may be judged decent and proper. I should even scarcely have ventured to suggest that perhaps a servile adherence to the garb of antiquity might not be altogether so expedient as some little deviation in favor of the modern costume, if I had not learned from Colo. Humphrey that this was a circumstance hinted in conversation with Mr. West to Houdon. This taste which has been introduced in painting by Mr. West, I understand is received with applause and prevails extensively.

There is nothing whatever to indicate that Houdon had suggested the classic style for the statue of Washington, and it is very unlikely that he did, but what was doubtless in the mind of Washington, and what he desired to guard against, when he replied to Jefferson's inquiry as to his "wish or inclination" on the subject of costume, was the provision in the resolution of Congress for the equestrian statue that "the General be represented in a Roman dress, holding a truncheon in his right hand and his head encircled with a laurel wreath." But it is quite clear that Houdon made a sketch or model for the statue different from its final execution, for a German tourist in Paris, quoted by Montaiglon and Duplessis (p. 326),[1] says he saw in the sculptor's studio a model for the statue in which Washington is portrayed in the character of the Protector of Agriculture. Meyer says:

The figure is clothed in the plain and noble habiliments appropriate to a man of rural pursuits, a light pleated vest, half buttoned, sandals on

[1] "Fragments sur Paris. Par Frédéric-Jean-Laurent Meyer." Translated from the German by Genl. Dumouriez. Hamburg, 1798. Vol. II, p. 222.

the feet, with a cloak fastened across the chest and enveloping the back and shoulders, suggesting protection to the Agriculturist against bad weather. One hand rests upon a walking-stick, the other is placed upon the Republican Fasces, crowned by a Liberty cap. At his feet stands a plough.

And this explains what would be a puzzle without it. On August 25, 1790, after Jefferson's return home, he wrote to William Short in Paris:[1]

I must beg the favor of you to get Houdon to have made of a light cheap silk, *couleur d'ardoise,* the actual costume he formed for the President's statue. It consisted of a gilet and cloak, which fell behind the back so as to show the form of the body clear of it. Let it be made of the size of life. This is not meant to bring into doubt the original order to make the statue in the real costume, to wit, the military uniform.

But the puzzle is unanswered as to the purpose for which Jefferson could have wanted this costume of the discarded sketch and in a special color, but his letter confirms Meyer's statement, without which we might have been a little sceptical.

The objection to the inscription, raised by Houdon, was the very just one, from the artistic standpoint,[2] that it was too long to be placed upon a pedestal of the small size necessary to support a life-size statue, and the result was that when the statue was completed and sent to Virginia, the pedestal was barren of any inscription, but

[1] Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress.

[2] Jefferson to Madison, February 8, 1786, and Madison to Jefferson, May, 12, 1786. Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress.

with the name "George Washington" simply cut on the base upon which the figure stands, and "fait par houdon Citoyen français 1788" below the cane. The original inscription, as provided in the Assembly's resolution, written by Madison, was, however, cut upon the pedestal in 1814, and shows what a proper appreciation of the situation Houdon entertained.

The "Mémoires Secrets," from which we have in other chapters quoted so generously, announce under date of December 16, 1786:[1] "M. Houdon began to show to amateurs in his studio the bust of General Washington, the object of his voyage to America and perfectly modelled, as we are assured." And in the issue of January 27, 1787:[2] "This work is finished and will be ready for the next Salon,"[3] where it was exhibited in marble and catalogued "259. Le Général Washington fait par l'auteur dans le terre de ce général en Virginie." Of it Bachaumont says, on the day of the opening, August 25, 1787:[4] "Here is . . . General Washington, whose fine head has the true calm of the real hero and above all appropriate to the modern Fabius, but having little resemblance, according to those who have had the happiness to see the illustrious American." This final sentence is of much import as being so wholly contrary

[1] Vol. XXXIII, p. 274. [2] Vol. XXXIV, p. 91.

[3] At the period of which we are writing the Salon opened on August 25 and lasted one month. The first was held in 1737 and thereafter annually until 1745, after which they were held every two years until 1796, which was an annual exhibition. Again from 1798 to 1802 they were held annually, after which they were held every two years until a comparatively recent date, since which they have been held annually.

[4] Vol. XXXVI, p. 396.

to the accepted criticism of Houdon's work, as we have seen in the original bust modeled at Mount Vernon and in the statue at Richmond, and causes us to pause and wonder if the change was wrought by the chisel of the *practicien* in transferring the model into stone.[1] The whereabouts of this marble, exhibited in the Salon of 1787, are unknown, but may it not be the bust from which the commonly seen casts of the undraped "Houdon's Washington" were made, which, if the final sentence of the criticism we have quoted is correct, might account for their dissimilarity with the original in the Louvre?

But the statue that bears date "1788" was not completed, it would seem, until 1791,[2] when Gouverneur Morris records in his diary,[3] under date of July 13: "At eleven go to breakfast with Lady Sutherland and afterward attend her to M. Houdon's to see the statue of Genl. Washington." Even then the State of Virginia was not ready to receive it, owing to the incompleteness of the State Capitol, at Richmond, where it was to be housed. But on February 5, 1795, we find Governor Brooke writing to James Monroe, then the American envoy to France, asking him to ascertain "the situation of the business," as the statue was not finished when Jefferson left Paris, "and we have no information since with respect to its prog-

[1] For an interesting account of this mechanical part of sculpture, see Lawton's "Life and Work of Auguste Rodin," New York, 1907, pp. 28–30.

[2] Montaiglon and Duplessis, p. 327, citing Le Breton's Report on the Fine Arts, make it a year later—1792.

[3] Diary of Gouverneur Morris, New York, Vol. I, p. 433.

ress."[1] The letter was delayed in reaching Monroe, but he acknowledged it August 20, promising to make the inquiries desired, and in every way to further the wishes of the Executive of his State. This action resulted in the statue being shipped at Havre, with a workman to put it up, toward the close of January, 1796, on the ship *Planter,* whereof Ayres Stockley was master, bound for Philadelphia. The bill of lading reads: "For account and risk of the Governor and Council of the town of Richmond, State of Virginia. Three cases, one of which contains the marble pedester statue of General Washington, and the two others contain the marble pedestal of said statue, weighing together thirty-six thousand pounds, weight going for eighteen tons, being marked and numbered as in the margin, and to be delivered in like good order at the aforesaid port of Philadelphia (the danger of the seas only being excepted), unto the order of Mr. William Pennock, of Norfolk, Virginia, who is to convey the same to said Governor and Council of Richmond, or to his order or assigns, he or they paying freight for the said goods."[2] The statue reached Philadelphia in April, and it was at once forwarded to Richmond, where it was placed in the rotunda of the Capitol on the main floor, between the House of Delegates and the Senate Chamber, on the 14th of May, 1796, apparently without any ceremony or exercises whatever.[3]

[1] Governor's Letter-book, Archives of Virginia.

[2] MS. Archives of Virginia, in State Library, Richmond.

[3] The freight and expenses on the statue from France were $315.28; and the cost of putting it up, $90 plus £26 6*s.* 10*d.*

Three years before the delivery of the statue, Houdon had been paid, literally, the full amount he was to receive for the work, but the last payment was made in assignats, the depreciated money of the French Republic, and he made claim for payment of the loss occasioned by the depreciation. This claim Monroe communicated to the Executive of his State, July 29, 1796. He writes:

I herewith enclose you a note of the amt. of what I paid to Mr. Houdon, the artist, for the charges annexed and which he requested immediately. Mr. Houdon has also another demand of abt. the like sum for depreciations and wh. I promised to communicate to you and pay him in case you permitted. I believe from his statement that he actually lost that amt. and in that mode, but at the same time I also believe the State of Virginia did not profit thereby, as likewise that the only claim he has, if any, is upon the candor and liberality of the State.

Houdon followed this up with a personal letter to the Governor under date of September 8, 1796, which is amusing for the attempt at English in which it is written.[1]

The eight July 1785 he was agreed between his excellency Mr. Jefferson in the Virginia state's name and me that I should executed in marble the statue of Mr. Washington, for the price of 25,000 french money to be paid in three times—at the period of the last payment at the end of 1792, I received 9000 which would formed the whole sum I ought to received if it had not been paid in assignats who losting in that time 60/100 only give the value of 5625 silver; I remains due 3375.

By a letter to his excellency Mr. Morris I immediately claim against this sort of payment; I enclose here the answer Mr. Grand make for him to me—Mr. Morris and Mr. Short didn't received answer from the

[1] MS. Archives of Virginia, State Library.

Virginia's state to the several letters they wrote on this account. When at the end of 1795 his excellency Mr. Monroe ordered the Statutes departure, I renewd my claim for being paid of the sum of 3375 but neither the minister or the consul won't take any determination on this object, they and me wrote to the Virginia's State on this account, but again no answer; Now I address myself directly to you Sir, and I hope you will find my request as right as any of the three Ministers above mentioned, and that I shall received a satisfactory answer. I am with the respect due to your caracter sir of your excellency the most obedient servant,

HOUDON
Sculpteur au Louvre à Paris.

Copie de la lettre de M grand à M houdon Sculpteur en datte du 28 9bre 1792.

M. Morris trouve juste la réclamation de M. houdon, mais comme il ne puis disposer des fonds du Congrès sans son consentement, il en fera la demande au Congrès, main en attendant il conseille à M houdon de recevoir toujours le solde sur un cette motive, c'est aussi ce que peuse M grand.

Pour copie conformé. HOUDON.[1]

What action was taken on this letter at the time, we are not informed, but the claim was not presently adjusted or for several years thereafter as we find in a letter from Jefferson to Monroe, when the latter occupied the gubernatorial chair of Virginia, dated February 28, 1802,[2] commenting upon what Dupont de Nemours had written to him—"Houdon, to whom Virginia still owes a thousand crowns on the statue of Washington, is in great need of the

[1] Houdon's chirography is extremely difficult to decipher, so that the copyist has been unable intelligently to render it, being, as it is, in a foreign language, which may also in part account for some of the peculiarities in his English letter that covered this one.

[2] Dreer MSS., Pennsylvania Historical Society.

money." He says: "In the latter branch of the quotation I feel a personal interest as having been the instrument of the contract of the state. But I imagine this matter must hang on some difficulty of which I am uninformed." From the subsequent correspondence it would seem that the matter had simply been allowed to lie dormant and only required the magic wand of Jefferson to give it life and bring about a just settlement. Thus Monroe answers Jefferson under date of March 14:[1] "I am authorized to inform you that whatever sum you state to be due shall be paid on yr. certificate of the same. I send you a letter of yours to Governor Brooke, one of Houdon to the Governor of Virg., and a copy of one from the banker Grand to Houdon, certified by the latter, which show that the contract was in specie, that the assignats were accepted by him, with the approbation of Mr. Morris, on the principle and in the expectation that they should be scaled. I hope and presume that Mr. Morris will be able to establish the facts, not known to you, necessary to adjust the account to your satisfaction, so that we may be able to pay the artist what is justly his due."

But it was not until Monroe went to France, the following year, to negotiate with Livingston for the cession of Louisiana, that the matter was finally settled and Houdon received his due. From Paris, August 12, 1803, Monroe writes to the Governor of Virginia:

At present I have only to . . . transmit you a receipt from the artist Houdon at Paris for the amount of his claim of balance due him on ac-

[1] Hamilton's Monroe, Vol. III, p. 339.

count of the statue of Genl. Washington, which I have paid him. You will recollect . . . that it was decided that the artist should not lose by the depreciation of the paper in which the payment was made to him; that the payment of the balance claimed was only delayed to have been correctly ascertained by Mr. Jefferson. On my arrival in Paris this poor man applied to me for justice, and I thought it best to pay him. It did not suit the character of the state or the transaction that a just claim should be delayed on account of that statue.

Accompanying this letter was a certificate from the United States commercial agent of the adjustment, which is of enough interest to print, showing, as it does, that the statue was completed in November of 1792, when the last payment was made.

The undersigned Commercial Agent of the United States at Paris, having by desire of James Monroe, Envoy Extraordinary, etc., to the French Republic, examined the several papers exhibited by Mr. Houdon in support of his claim against the State of Virginia, for the loss by depreciation on the sum of 9000 Livres paid him in Assignats by the late bankers of the U. S., Messrs. Grand & Co., on the 29th of November, 1792, on account of the statue of General Washington made by him for the State of Virginia, does hereby certify that by the scale of depreciation established by law in this country it appears that, on the aforesaid 29th of November, 1792, the sum of 9000 Livres in assignats was worth 6200 Livres specie and therefore that the said Houdon did sustain a loss of 2800 Livres. In witness whereof I have signed the 10th of June, 1803, at Paris.

FULMER SKIPWITH.

The receipt of Houdon, which closes the transaction, has never been printed. It is as follows:

J'ai reçu de son excellence Monsieur Monroe pour le compte de l'état de Virginie la somme de deux mille huit cent Livres pour solde ce qui me

restait du sur le statue pedestre du général Washington que j'ai executée et livrée au dit état. Paris ce 27 prairial an 11; 16 juin 1803.

HOUDON.

So that Houdon was not only underpaid for his work, as we have seen by the testimony of Jefferson, but he had to wait eleven years after he had finished the statue before he received settlement in full for it. But his reward was far greater than the mere dollars he was paid. He had the distinguished honor of coming in close personal relations with the Pater Patriæ, and he has received the homage of the whole American people for his great work. We are told by his son-in-law, Raoul Rochette, that his visit to Mount Vernon was an incident in his life "which in his memory always shone with peculiar radiance, for, though not knowing English and having to speak through an interpreter, the pleasure of having been close to Washington left memories which he was fond of recurring to when many others of various kinds had long been forgotten."

While persons see likenesses through many different visions, no two persons seeing exactly alike, yet there can be no doubt, from the consensus of Washington's intimate friends and contemporaries, as well as from the known skill of Houdon as a portrait sculptor, that future generations can feel, when they look upon his statue of Washington, that they have before them the verisimilitude of the original in feature and in stature. At the same time, Houdon was human, and Washington's supreme manhood seems to have affected him, as it did so many of the artists who undertook to portray the

Father of his Country, so that our sculptor essayed in his work to convey too complete an idea of the man and thus has overcrowded his statue with symbolism. The cane, the sword, the ploughshare and the fasces take away from the simple dignity and majesty of the figure, until one might suppose that the Father of his Country needed a support on either side or in boyish awkwardness knew not what to do with his hands. The truthfulness and artistic qualities of the head are beyond criticism, and must be accepted as the canon of comparison for all other portraits.[1] As they approach this or fall away from it, their relation to the original can be assigned. The portrait is both real and ideal, the perfection of true art. Truth has not been sacrificed to imagination; they have been blended and commingled, but not lost in each other. It is a very dignified statue, but being the exact size of life—six feet, two inches —and elevated on its pedestal five feet above the floor, appears smaller than life, and in this position the delicate and subtle modeling is lost, so that its full value cannot be discerned. The pedestal should be sunk in a pit, so that the base of the figure would be on the floor line; then its full value would assert itself and the beauty of Houdon's work be seen. Unfortunately, no reproduction gives an adequate idea of its character, and therefore scant justice is done it in the illustration, which, however, is the best we have ever seen.[2]

[1] This was the view expressed by Gilbert Stuart, America's master painter, who placed Houdon's bust of Washington before his own familiar Athenæum head—the one that may be called "the household Washington." His first portrait of Washington, however, as already noted, measures well up with the Houdon head.

[2] According to Montaiglon and Duplessis, p. 325, Houdon "in his old age" made, in

Mr. Lorado Taft, the well-known sculptor, says of this statue:[1]

The head and shoulders of the figure are superbly illuminated and the effect is noble beyond any expression given by replicas[2] of the statue in other localities. The workmanship is exceedingly skilful and grows upon one with study; but there is, it must be confessed, a feeling of leanness and angularity in the lower portion of the statue. It may be that it was inherent in the subject, and it is doubtless accentuated by the costume—the uniform of a Revolutionary officer. Whatever may be the cause, there is, in spite of irreproachable drawing, an effect as of pasteboard or tinware about the lower limbs. This is further enhanced by the wide angle of the feet, which gives the figure from one view the look of having been cut out of folded paper and then spread open. The close-fitting nether garments, combined with their "tightness" of treatment, and the unheroic but doubtless circumstantial swell of the abdomen,[3] produce a result more curiously individual than majestic, until the eye returns to the noble head, which is one of the finest examples of simplification to be found in modern art. It has in it the serenity and greatness of all time. Nearer approach discovers the perfection of drawing and of marble cutting in the gloved right hand, which rests upon a long cane, and in the bared left, which lies upon a cloak thrown over the fasces—a bundle large, tall, and insistingly prominent. This strange accessory rests in turn upon a ploughshare. The sharp lines of cane and ploughshare and fasces are unpleasant and unsculptural, but the transfigured head welcomes the gaze after each bewildering excursion.

the year 10 (1802), for the Gallery of the Consuls, a bust of Washington, larger than life, which is in the Museum at Versailles. They add, "It is singularly tame, feeble and of no value whatever."

[1] "The History of American Sculpture," by Lorado Taft, New York, 1903, p. 17.

[2] There is no replica of the statue anywhere. Mr. Taft doubtless means reproduction.

[3] The "leanness and angularity" of Washington's legs, as also the "swell of the abdomen," criticized by Mr. Taft, are clearly shown likewise in Charles Willson Peale's well-known whole-length portrait of the General, painted in 1779. Washington was never heavy of weight for his large frame.

WASHINGTON

Houdon's statue of Washington has been removed from its consecrated place twice, or perhaps three times. In 1851, on March 21, the General Assembly of Virginia, in view of the liability to injury and destruction of the statue, provided for the taking of casts of the statue for the colleges of the State; but it was not until January 14, 1853, that any steps were taken to carry this resolution into effect, when, by joint resolution of the Assembly, William J. Hubard, of Richmond, was authorized to take casts of Houdon's statue of Washington, with exclusive rights for seven years, subject to certain limitations. What was Hubard's particular qualification for this work I do not know, but his early life would not seem to have been spent in the direction to equip him specially for the difficult art of bronze-founder. Yet he did his work well, and one of his reproductions was the introduction of Felix Regamey, the well-known French artist, when he visited this country in 1879, to Houdon's statue, and called forth his high praise. Hubard was English-born, and landed in New York a youth of seventeen, within a few days of La Fayette's arrival in 1824.[1] He was under "management" as an infant prodigy, being advertised as several years under his actual age, in the art of cutting "with common scissors in a few seconds" a correct likeness in silhouette. He was exploited in New York, Boston and Philadelphia, meeting in the latter city Thomas Sully, under whose guidance he essayed paint-

[1] *Vide* "The Last of the Silhouettists," by Charles Henry Hart, "The Outlook" for October 6, 1900.

ing, and thereafter he was known as an expert painter of whole-length portraits in cabinet size, which were well executed and full of character. He finally settled in Richmond, Va., married, and went abroad for three years' study; but just what was his vocation in Richmond we do not know until he undertook the casting of the reproductions of the Houdon statue, and it was doubtless at the same factory where this peaceful work was done that he met with his death in February, 1862, by the explosion of a shell he was filling with a compound of his own invention for the use of the Confederacy.

It was three years after Hubard received the authority to make his copies of Houdon's work when he accomplished the task, and in March, 1856, the Governor of Virginia was authorized to purchase from him "a bronze cast of Houdon's statue of Washington to be placed in the Military Institute at Lexington, Va." The price paid for it is said to have been $10,000, or twice as much as was the price paid Houdon for the original. This is an interesting commentary upon the comparative commercial values of the work of the artist and of the artisan. Hubard made in all six casts in bronze of the statue, which are, besides the one mentioned, respectively in Raleigh, North Carolina, in Columbia, South Carolina, in St. Louis, Missouri, in New York and in Washington, the latter being the only one owned by a private person. He also made one plaster cast of the statue, which his widow sold to the Government in 1870 for $2000, and which is now in Statuary Hall of the Capi-

tol, but is much impoverished by successive coats of white paint. Whether the statue was not replaced in the rotunda of the Capitol when Hubard was through with it, or whether it was again removed for any other purpose, we do not know, but on April 1, 1873, it was directed to be restored to its former place in the Capitol and an appropriation was made "to defray the expense in giving that stability to the floor necessary to the safety of the statue." Thirty-one years later, in July of 1904, the statue was again removed owing to the work in progress for remodeling the old Capitol, and it was housed for eighteen months in an iron fire-proof building, constructed specially for the purpose, in Capitol Square, until on January 6, 1906, it was restored to its wonted place in the rotunda.

It would be impossible to locate all of the Houdon busts of Washington that are genuine; the majority of those seen are not. Jefferson doubtless had one, as Levasseur in his "La Fayette in America,"[1] speaks of seeing in Jefferson's dining-room at Monticello "four beautiful busts of Washington, Franklin, La Fayette and Paul Jones." These four busts did belong to the Boston Athenæum, and are so recorded in the Catalogue of the Twenty-fifth Exhibition in 1852.[2] In the Pavillon National de la République Française, at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, there was exhibited a bronze bust of Washington, signed, "HOUDON FECIT," which the French official catalogue states was given by Houdon to

[1] Vol. I, p. 215.

[2] Nos. 55, 56, 57 and 58. "Original Casts of the busts of Washington, Franklin, La Fayette and Paul Jones, by Houdon, presented by the artist to Mr. Jefferson."

General La Fayette. This bronze, being signed, has a peculiar interest, as the original in the Louvre is not signed, neither is the one that belonged to Jefferson. In the inventory of Washington's estate we find, in the study, "One Bust of General Washington in Plaster from the Life." This we can assume with almost a certainty was an original cast by Houdon made at Mount Vernon in October, 1785. It is said to have remained at Mount Vernon until 1849, when the proprietors gave permission to Clark Mills, the sculptor, to copy it, who, it is claimed, left a reproduction at Mount Vernon in place of the original, which he kept and gave in 1873 to one Wilson MacDonald of New York. But from reproductions of the bust in MacDonald's possession, it is plainly very different from the original in the Louvre, so that the story which so badly besmirches Clark Mills does not bear the guinea-stamp and must be relegated to the realm of romance, where on its face it would seem to belong.

In the fall of 1881, at the time of the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the surrender at Yorktown, a body of distinguished Frenchmen visited this country as official representatives of the French government, and among them came again M. Regamey. This time he visited Richmond, and saw Houdon's original marble, which so much impressed him that he made an official report to the Minister of Arts, urging that France should secure a reproduction to be placed in the Louvre by the side of the Diana. He says: "My astonishment was great to discover in the Capitol at

Richmond a masterpiece of French statuary generally ignored in France—the statue of General Washington by Houdon. Immediately it struck me that we could not remain without a reproduction of this work in Paris." Although he continued at frequent intervals to agitate the subject by communications to "Le Figaro" and by the publication of a brochure as late as 1905, nothing, unfortunately, had resulted from his efforts at the time of his death three years later. But had his life been spared for a few years more, he would have seen that the seed he had planted bore some fruit. The State of Virginia, having had a cast in bronze made of the Houdon statue of Washington to be placed in the rotunda of the National Capitol, determined to present a duplicate to France, and on August 18, 1910, it was officially presented to the French government and placed, with appropriate ceremonial, in the Museum at Versailles. While this gives France a copy of the famous Houdon Washington, its location puts it upon a historical rather than an artistic basis, and still leaves the Salle Houdon, in the Louvre, without this art treasure. On the occasion of its installation M. Étienne Charles wrote in "La Liberté": "Houdon's Washington represents less the successful general in the War of Independence than the organizer who carries in his brain a complete plan of government, less the man of action and more the thinker. What particularly attracts one in his countenance is his expression of gravity, of steady reflection and perfect calm,—all in him reveals method, reflection, foresight and admirable balance."

CHAPTER XI

1785–1790

MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE—BUSTS FOR AMERICA AND FOR FRANCE—DESTRUCTION OF THE LATTER, AUGUST 10, 1792

GILBERT DU MOTIER, Marquis de la Fayette, who was appointed by the Continental Congress a Major-General in its army before he was twenty years of age, and whose first important duty upon his return from France in 1780 was to sit upon the court-martial that condemned André to death, was sent to Virginia early in 1781 to oppose the invasion of that State by the traitor Arnold with a British force. La Fayette successfully kept the enemy at bay until Washington and Rochambeau reached the Chesapeake early in September, unknown to Cornwallis, to prevent whose escape La Fayette threw his troops across the peninsula at Williamsburg, thus cutting off Cornwallis's retreat and sealing his doom at Yorktown, October 17, 1781. Virginia recognized that she owed her deliverance to the young French officer who had just entered his twenty-fifth year, and whose conduct of this campaign proved him to be endowed with the highest qualities of generalship. Accordingly, two months later, on December 17, 1781, the House of Delegates adopted the following resolution:[1]

[1] Hening's "Statutes of Virginia," Vol. X, p. 569.

"*Resolved unanimously,* that a Bust of the Marquis de la Fayette be directed to be made, in Paris, of the best marble employed for such purpose, and presented to the Marquis with the following inscription on it;—

"This bust was voted on the 17th day of December, 1781, by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, to the Honorable the Marquis de la Fayette (Major General in the service of the United States of America and late Commander-in-Chief of the army of the United States in Virginia), as a lasting monument of his merit and of their gratitude.

"*Resolved,* that the Commercial Agent be directed to employ a proper person in Paris to make the above Bust."

Owing to the omission to name the Governor of the State as the person to carry out this resolution, as also the fact that the commercial agent named therein had resigned before the passage of the act, nothing was done in the premises further than to communicate a copy of the resolution to La Fayette. This apparent discourtesy La Fayette mentioned in a letter to Washington of September 8, 1783;[1] and Washington, acknowledging the letter on February 1, 1784,[2] says: "From a letter which I have just received from the Governor of this State, I expect him here in a few days, when I shall not be unmindful of what you have written about the bust, and I will endeavor to have matters respecting it placed on their proper basis."

[1] Unfortunately, this letter is not preserved in the collection of letters to Washington in the Library of Congress at Washington, D. C.

[2] Ford's "Writings of Washington," Vol. X, p. 349.

Governor Harrison did visit Mount Vernon on March 29th, and immediately upon his return to Richmond, laid the matter before his Council, and the minutes contain this entry:[1]

Monday, April 5, 1784. The Governor having laid before the Board a resolution of the General Assembly passed on the 17th of December, 1781, directing a Bust of the Marquis Fayette to be made, in Paris, of the best marble employed for such purposes, and presented to him as a lasting monument of his merit, and of their gratitude, which resolution has never been executed; It is advised that his Excellency write to Mr. Barclay, the American Consul at Nantz, enclosing a copy of the said resolution, and requesting to have it carried into effect; and the better to enable him to do this business, His Excellency is advised to draw on the Contingent Fund for 160 pounds sterling and transmit it to Mr. Barclay, desiring him to defray the expenses of the Bust thereout.

The same day Governor Harrison wrote to Thomas Barclay, agent at Nantes:[2]

Sir: In Council, April 5, 1784.

I enclose you a resolution of the Assembly of this Commonwealth which I request the favor of you to have carried into immediate execution, and by one of the best artists that can be procured. The cause of its being so long delayed will appear on the face of the resolution, which directs the Commercial Agent to carry it into effect, which officer resigned his appointment before the resolution ever came to his hands and it was not thought advisable to give him a successor. It may be necessary to explain to you why the business was not taken up by me sooner, to enable you to give an answer, if the question should be asked, or you should think it proper to make an apology to the Marquis (for whom no man

[1] MS. Council Journal, Virginia, 1783, 1784, 1785, p. 70. State Library, Richmond, Va.

[2] MS. Letter-book of Benjamin Harrison, 1783 to 1786, p. 291. State Library, Richmond, Va.

on earth has a greater or more perfect esteem and regard than I have), for the seeming neglect. The usual and indeed proper channel thro' which the resolution should have been transmitted was the Executive of the State, which the Assembly not adverting to or, for some other cause, not known to me, directed their Speaker to perform. From this cause I became a stranger to the steps that had been taken, 'til I was the other day informed, by my friend General Washington, that the Speaker had not attended farther to the vote of the Assembly, than transmitting the resolution, and that *the Marquis had not received the intended compliment.* I have herewith sent you a Bill of Exchange of Wm. Alexander & Co. for one hundred and sixty pounds sterling, which you will apply in the first instance for the above purpose of paying for the bust, and the remainder to the credit of the state with yourself, in part of the compensation so justly due to you, for the services you have rendered her.

It must not be forgotten that the period of which we are writing was not the era of steam and of electricity, and that it required months for the transmission of letters from America to Europe and return; for, not only was the passage a long one, but the ships that carried the mails were few and far between, so that before Barclay could receive his advices and progress very far with his commission, the Legislature of Virginia, for some reason that we know not of, made a change in the destination of the bust, which change is made to wear an air of mystery, by the careful silence preserved regarding it in all subsequent correspondence and proceedings. However this may be, on December 1, 1784, the House of Delegates enacted another law, reciting the earlier one, and, without any explanation, changed the destination of the bust.[1]

[1] Hening's "Statutes of Virginia," Vol. XI, p. 553.

"Whereas, it was unanimously resolved, on the 17th day of December, 1781, that a bust of the Marquis de la Fayette be directed to be made in Paris, of the best marble employed for such purposes, with the following inscription: [*Vide* p. 227.]

"Resolved unanimously, that the Governor, with the advice of the Council, be authorized and desired to defray the expense of carrying the said vote into execution, out of the fund allotted for the contingencies of government; that he cause said bust to be presented, in the name of the Commonwealth, to the city of Paris, with a request that the same may be accepted and preserved in some public place of the said city.

"Resolved unanimously, that as a further mark of the lasting esteem, of this Commonwealth, for the illustrious qualities and services of the Marquis de la Fayette, the Governor, with the advice of the Council, be authorized and desired to cause another bust of him, with a similar inscription, to be procured by draught on the said fund, and that same, when procured, be fixed in such public place, at the seat of government, as may hereafter be appointed for the erection of the statue voted by the General Assembly to General Washington."

At this time Patrick Henry was Governor of Virginia, and he communicated the new enactment to La Fayette in the following letter:[1]

[1] Henry's "Life of Patrick Henry," Vol. II, p. 262.

In Council, January 29, 1785.

Sir:

When the duties of office correspond with the feelings of the individual, there is a double pleasure in discharging them. This satisfaction I feel most sensibly when I forward the enclosed and am happy in the opportunity of assuring you how perfectly I coincide in opinion, with the Legislature, on this subject. That the gratitude of those who claim you as their fellow-citizen may be as conspicuous, as the merit it wishes to perpetuate, the Bust, which was to have been presented to yourself, is now to be erected in the city of Paris, and as we cannot have the happiness of your personal residence, another is to grace our capitol, which none will behold with more lively sensations of affection and admiration than, Sir,

Yours,

P. Henry.

To Barclay and Jefferson the Governor forwarded copies of the act under cover of June 16, 1785,[1] saying to each: "The enclosed resolution will inform you of the change which has taken place respecting the Bust formerly voted to the Marquis de la Fayette."

Barclay had already selected Houdon as the sculptor for the La Fayette bust, doubtless not only because he was the greatest living sculptor, but because he had been chosen as well to make the statue of Washington, also for Virginia. On August 23, 1785, Barclay wrote Governor Henry:[2]

I had the honor of receiving by the last packet the letter which you wrote me of the 16 June, together with the Resolutions of the Assembly, respecting the Busts of the Marquis de la Fayette, and I beg leave to

[1] Governor's MS. Letter-book, p. 464. State Library, Richmond, Va.

[2] Calendar of State Papers of Virginia, Vol. IV, p. 49.

assure you that my endeavors shall not be wanting to accomplish matters agreeable to your wishes. M. Houdon, who embarked for America with Dr. Franklin, made a considerable progress in executing the first bust that was ordered, but the Marquis being at present in Prussia, the matter must rest until he and M. Houdon return. I think it will be better that the same person compleat both the Busts; the more so as he is at the top of his profession. The cost of each will be 3000 Livres, and I have paid 50 Louis d'ors for the purchase of the marble for the first.

The day previous Jefferson had similarly advised the Governor:[1]

I shall render cheerfully any services I can, in aid of Mr. Barclay, for carrying this resolution into effect. The Marquis de la Fayette being to pass into Germany and Prussia, it was thought proper to take the model of his bust in plaister before his departure. Monsieur Houdon was engaged to do it, and did it accordingly. So far Mr. Barclay had authorized himself to go in consequence of orders formerly received. . . . There is due to M. Houdon for the model of the busts of the Marquis de la Fayette, in plaister, I imagine about 750.0.0.

The bust of La Fayette, thus begun before Houdon left France for America, was completed soon after his return, as on January 24, 1786, we find Jefferson telling the Governor of Virginia, in a letter already cited, "The first of the Marquis's busts will be finished next month. I shall present that one to the city of Paris, because the delay has been noticed by some. I hope to be able to send another to Virginia in the course of the summer." That Houdon came up to time with the first of the busts seems assured from a letter that Jefferson wrote to M. de Reyneval, May 17, 1786:[2]

[1] Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Series I, Vol. I, No. 168.
[2] *Ibid.*

Mr. Jefferson has the honor of presenting his compliments to Mons. de Reyneval and of recalling to his attention the subject he had the honor of mentioning yesterday relative to the bust of the Marquis de la Fayette. The state of Virginia, sensible of the services rendered them in particular by this worthy officer, directed his bust to be made in marble and to be presented to the city of Paris, with a request that it might be placed so as to do honour to the Marquis de la Fayette. Mr. Jefferson has been told that he should address himself, for this purpose, to the Prévôt and Échevins of Paris. Before he takes this step, however, he wishes to know whether the respect due to the King, and his Ministers, would require from him a previous reference of the subject to them. Monsieur de Reyneval's information herein would be considered very friendly.

The approval of the King, it seems, was necessary, and, obtained after some delays, was communicated through the Baron de Breteuil, Minister of State, whereupon, the preliminaries having been arranged, Jefferson wrote to the Prévôt des Marchands et Échevins de Paris, September 27, 1786:[1]

The Commonwealth of Virginia, in gratitude for the services of Major General the Marquis de la Fayette, have determined to erect his bust in their capital. Desirous to place a like monument of his worth and of their sense of it in the country to which they are indebted for his birth, they have hoped that the city of Paris will consent to become the depository of this second testimony of their gratitude. Being charged by them with the execution of their wishes, I have the honor to solicit of Messieurs le Prévôt des Marchands et Échevins, on behalf of the city, their acceptance of a bust of this gallant officer, and that they will be pleased to place it where, doing most honor to him, it will most gratify

[1] Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

the feelings of an allied nation. It is with true pleasure that I obey the call of that Commonwealth to render just homage to a character, so great in its first developments, that they would honor the close of any other. . . . It would have been more pleasing to me to have executed this office in person, . . . but I am withheld from these grateful duties by the consequences of a fall which confines me to my room. Mr. Short, therefore, a citizen of the state of Virginia, . . . will have the honor of delivering you this letter, together with the resolution of the General Assembly of Virginia. He will have that, also, of presenting the bust at such time and place as you will be so good as to signify your pleasure to receive it, through him.

This letter being merely the formal announcement, after all arrangements had been made, the presentation took place the next day, at the Hôtel de Ville, by the Honorable William Short, Secretary of the Legation of the United States, and was made quite a matter of ceremony. M. le Pelletier de Mortfontaine, Councilor of State and Mayor of the city of Paris, presided; the letter of Mr. Jefferson and the resolutions of the State of Virginia were read by M. Veytard, the Chief Recorder, which was followed by a discourse pronounced by M. Ethis de Corny, the Attorney-General, who had been with La Fayette in America and was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. After its conclusion, de Corny gave, in his official capacity, the requisite instructions necessary for the reception of the bust agreeably to the wishes of the King, and the bust was placed, to the sound of military music, on the mantelpiece to the right of the great hall of the Hôtel de Ville.

This graceful action of Virginia was deeply appreciated by La

Fayette, as will be seen by his letter to Washington of October 26, 1786.[1] He writes:

A new instance of the goodness of the state of Virginia has been given me, by the placing of my bust at the Hôtel de Ville of this city. The situation of the other bust will be the more pleasing to me as, while it places me within the capitol of the State, I shall be eternally by the side of, and paying an everlasting homage to, the statue of my beloved general.

Bachaumont says:[2] "Every one is going to the Hôtel de Ville to see the bust of M. the Marquis de la Fayette, executed by the Sieur Houdon and placed in one of the rooms of the building with much ceremony and pomp." Later in the month, Jefferson wrote to M. de Corny, asking for a report of the proceedings attending the inauguration of the bust, that he might forward them to the Governor of Virginia. The conclusion of the letter shows that M. de Corny was of no little aid in carrying out the project.[3]

Your goodness, already so often manifested in this business, encourages me to endeavor to obtain these through your intervention. I do it the rather as it furnishes me an occasion, very grateful to my feelings, of returning to you, at the same time, my sincere thanks for the zeal with which you have seconded the views of the state, the readiness with which you have condescended to give me information in the course of the proceedings and to secure by your influence the success of these proceedings.

There was considerable delay attending the securing of this re-

[1] "Memoirs, Correspondence and Manuscripts of General La Fayette." Published by his family. London, 1837, Vol. II, p. 148.

[2] "Mémoires Secrets," October 6, 1786, Vol. XXXIII, p. 90.

[3] Washington's Jefferson, Vol. II, p. 44.

port, and Jefferson was unable to forward it until February of the following year. With it he writes to Governor Randolph:[1]

> The principle that the King is the sole fountain of honour in this country opposed a barrier to our desires which threatened to be insurmountable. No instance of a similar proposition from a foreign power had occurred in their history. The admitting it in this case is a singular proof of the King's friendly disposition towards the states of America, and of his personal esteem for the Marquis de la Fayette.

The second bust of La Fayette, made for Virginia by Houdon, was exhibited at the Salon of 1787, and catalogued, "256. M. le Marquis de la Fayette. Buste marbre, pour les États de la Verginie." The only contemporary remark upon the bust that I find, while possibly true, is not complimentary to the subject, "Whose face is rather simple than ingenuous,"[2] but adds that it does "honor to the precision" of Houdon's chisel. The bust was not forwarded to Virginia until late in the year 1788, by André Limozin, who advised the Governor from Havre on November 11th,[3] "I have consigned to your Excellency, on board the American ship *Sally,* Kennedy Master, bound for Baltimore, a large box, containing Marquis de la Fayette's bust, for which I enclose the bill of lading." This letter was laid before the Council by the Governor on January 29, 1789,[4] when it was "ordered that the Governor take

[1] Washington's Jefferson, Vol. IV, p. 118.

[2] "Mémoires Secrets," August 25, 1787, Vol. XXXVI, p. 396.

[3] Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. IV, p. 512.

[4] MS. Council Journal, October, 1787, to April, 1789, p. 506. State Library at Richmond.

LAFAYETTE

measures for bringing the said bust here"; and on June 30th, "an account of John Groves amounting to 2 pounds, 17 shillings and 3 pence for freight and expenses of bringing the Marquis Fayette's bust from Maryland," was ordered paid.[1] This is the last record we have been able to find concerning this bust. We do not know when it was put in the place it was destined to occupy for many years—a niche in the wall of the rotunda of the State Capitol, above the line of vision, opposite to Houdon's statue of Washington; but, as the building was not finished until 1796, it probably was put in place at the same time that the statue of Washington was erected. The reproduction shows that the nose has at some time been broken off and restored, but when and how the injury occurred, nothing but varied and uncertain traditions remains, the most commonly accepted being that at the time of La Fayette's visit to Richmond, in October of 1824, the bust was taken down from its niche, to be used in the decorations for his reception, when it fell and received this fracture. This, not unlikely, is correct, as it would account for the wording of a report in the Richmond newspapers of La Fayette's reception, which says:

> At the north entrance gate of Capitol Square, there was an ornamental quadrangular pedestal on which *it was intended* to place the marble bust of La Fayette in the Capitol.

The use of the word "intended" shows clearly that the bust was not placed on the pedestal, but no reason is given for its not being so

[1] MS. Council Journal, April, 1789, to October, 1791, p. 78. State Library, Richmond.

placed, which may very well have been the accidental fall that disfigured the face so that it could not be exhibited in the presence of the original. However this may be, no record can be found of the fracture and its restoration, and the bust continued to occupy the niche where it was originally placed until July, 1904, when it was removed to the State Library, where the writer saw it in the spring of 1907. For sentimental reasons, if for none other, it should be returned to its original abiding-place, where, as La Fayette wrote to Washington, "I shall be eternally by the side of, and paying an everlasting homage to, the statue of my beloved general."

The conclusion of this chapter will show how very unfortunate Houdon's several busts of La Fayette have been in their unusually checkered careers. Misfortune seems to have pursued them, and it has been left for us, on this side of the water, to disentangle the meshes of error concerning them, which have been so tightly twisted in their native land, the home of both sculptor and subject.

The life of the bust presented to the city of Paris was short and its fate tragic. The Revolution followed close upon the heels of its dedication and the Hôtel de Ville became the rendezvous, in turn, for each party, and the scene of many of the Revolution's most stirring incidents. There the Notables assembled on the 22d of February, 1787, and there the States General gathered together on the 5th of May, 1789. La Fayette was a member of both of these bodies, and in July of 1789, almost in sight of his bust, was chosen General-Commander of the Parisian troops and Commander-in-

Chief of the National Guard. His position was most difficult and to both parties seemed anomalous. He defended the freedom of the King as sincerely and as openly as he defended the freedom of the people. His duty was to protect the King and Queen, who distrusted him as they did almost every one who could serve and mayhap save them; and his fidelity to his duty made him equally distasteful to the Jacobins, and with their rise to power his popularity and influence diminished. His bust by Houdon, who seems to have sided in a moderate way with the popular party, was specially guarded for a length of time by the Parisian soldiers, but "was attacked by the Jacobins and destroyed at the period of their successes on the 10th of August."[1] This succinct statement, from the "Memoirs" of La Fayette, would be sufficient, were it not for the different and conflicting stories that have been disseminated on the subject, rendering a discussion of them necessary and important.

"August 10th" in French history always means of the year 1792. It is the most important date in the annals of the French Revolution. On that day the Parisian mob took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, besieged the Tuileries, and forced the King to take refuge in the National Assembly, where, in his presence, the monarchical form of government was abolished in France. La Fayette's growing unpopularity had reached a climax, on account of his supposed sympathy with the King, and two days before a deputy had proposed his arrest. Only three years after the occurrences of that

[1] "Memoirs, Correspondence and Manuscripts of La Fayette," Vol. II, p. 7.

fatal day, one J. Talma published in London a "Chronological Account of the French Revolution," in which, under this ominous date, is recorded (p. 95): "All the statues of Kings were demolished, as well as those of La Fayette, Necker and Mirabeau." Notwithstanding this and other almost contemporaneous similar statements, Montaiglon and Duplessis, in their "Catalogue de l'Œuvre de Houdon,"[1] say:

> Lafayette (M. le Marquis de) Buste en Mar. pour les États des Virginie. Salon de 1787, n. 256. Un autre au Salon 1791, n. 484. Ce dernier, "voté en 1791 par la Commune de Paris," est sans doute celui en Mar. blanc, de la vente de 1828, n. 51, indiqué comme ayant "éprouvé, en 1793, une mutilation qui a été reparée."—Le Musée de Versailles en a une autre en Mar. avec la même date de 1791.

The quotations in the above extract are taken from the Houdon Sale Catalogue of 1828,[2] where this important description of the bust is also given: "en costume de commandant de la garde nationale de Paris." But it would seem as though Montaiglon and Duplessis did not understand their own language when they say, "This last," the bust exhibited in the Salon of 1791, " 'voted in 1791 by the Commune of Paris,' is *without doubt* the one in white marble of the sale of 1828." The sale catalogue of 1828 distinctly says that its No. 51 *is* the one voted in 1791 by the Commune of Paris, and that it was mutilated in 1793. On reading this we were at once im-

[1] "Revue Universelle des Arts," 1855, Vol. II, p. 448.
[2] *Vide* Appendix "E."

pressed with the idea that, if the Commune of Paris, in 1791, voted a bust of La Fayette to be placed, as a matter of course, in the Hôtel de Ville, where it held its sessions, the bust presented by Virginia in 1786 must have been destroyed prior to the vote, and consequently earlier than August 10, 1792, as there would be no reason for two busts of the same man in the same place only five years apart in time. This view was negatived, however, by M. Pierre de Nolhac, Keeper of Versailles, who wrote:[1] "Le buste de La Fayette fait pour l'Hôtel de Ville de Paris en 1786 a été *certainement brisé en 1793,* en même temps que celui de Necker." The year here given for the mutilation of the La Fayette bust of 1791 was the same as that set forth in the catalogues of 1828 and 1855; and, to make the confusion worse confounded, Marius Vachon, in his elaborate volume on the Hôtel de Ville,[2] gives, on page 143, an account of the bust of 1786 and its inauguration, but not one word as to its subsequent history or fate, leaving the inference that it was in existence at the period of the burning, by the Commune, of the Hôtel de Ville, May 24, 1871; if not indeed at the time of his writing, a decade later.

As confusing as these details and dates may seem, they are necessary for a complete understanding of the situation, when we come to establish, beyond peradventure, that the 10th of August, 1792, is the true date of the destruction of the bust of 1786; that there was

[1] Letter from Pierre de Nolhac to Mr. Hart, April 4, 1907.
[2] "L'Ancien Hôtel de Ville de Paris, 1533–1871." Paris, 1882.

no vote of the Commune of Paris in 1791 or at any other time for a bust of La Fayette; that indeed no bust of him was made in that year by Houdon, but our sculptor did make one of him in the previous year.

Fortunately for the elucidation of this subject, the acts of the Commune of Paris during the Revolution are now in course of publication in Paris, under the erudite editorship of M. Sigismond Lacroix,[1] twelve volumes of which have appeared, bringing the work down to the close of July, 1791. These volumes I searched diligently for any reference to a bust of La Fayette "voted in 1791 by the Commune of Paris," but there was nothing of the kind recorded in the first seven months of the year. I did, however, find an interesting reference to the bust presented in 1786. It was under date of April 8, 1790,[2] when the question arose as to the installation of Houdon's bust of Bailly, Mayor of Paris, in the Hôtel de Ville. The President of the Assembly, l'Abbé Bertolio, said:

"We have possessed for several years past the bust of Marquis de la Fayette. It was presented to us by men who were in a position to appreciate his merit; it seems to me that, when the free Americans offered it to the nation by offering it to the Capitol, they were saying to us, with that prescience inspired by a love of liberty, 'He will soon accomplish for you what he has done for us.' . . . You offer

[1] "Actes de la Commune de Paris pendant la Révolution. Publiés et Annotés par Sigismond Lacroix. Paris, 1894–1907."

[2] *Ibid.*, First Series, Vol. IV, p. 640.

us to-day the bust of M. Bailly. . . . It shall be placed beneath the bust of the most cherished of Kings, facing the one of Marquis de la Fayette."

In a foot-note to page 454 of Vol. III, Second Series, under date of April 10, 1791, I found another reference to the La Fayette bust of 1786, and its location in the Hôtel de Ville, but no mention whatever of its subsequent history and fate.

Not satisfied with ending my research with the close of July, 1791, in the printed volumes, I addressed a letter of inquiry to M. Lacroix, the editor, telling him how assiduously I had studied the "Actes" of the Commune, as far as published, in my endeavor to find the vote of the Commune of Paris, of 1791, for the bust of La Fayette, as stated by Montaiglon and Duplessis, following the Houdon sale catalogue of 1828, and asking him if he could give me this vote of 1791 from the unpublished "Actes," as well as the reason given for ordering a second bust of La Fayette for the Hôtel de Ville, if the one presented by Virginia in 1786 was still there at the time named.

In reply, I received from M. Lacroix not only a prompt and most charmingly courteous answer, but the exact information to settle the question for all time. He wrote:

I can assure you positively that the Commune of Paris never voted for a bust of La Fayette, either in 1791 or before or after. What the Commune did vote for, as you will see in the text accompanying this, was a

medal and a statue of Washington. *There is certainly error in what concerns the bust of 1791. It was not voted by the Commune of Paris.*

The text to which he refers is composed of extracts from the manuscript procès-verbal of the Commune, from which the following gleanings are made. On October 13, 1791, the General Council having considered the resignation handed in by La Fayette, of his command, "suppressed by a late law," and discussed the form in which the Commune should show its recognition of his services, it was resolved:

"First. There shall be struck a medal in memory of the services rendered the Commune of Paris by M. La Fayette.

"Second. The Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres shall be consulted as to the form and legend to be adopted for the said medal; the legend shall be in the French language.

"Third. The medal to be presented to M. La Fayette shall be of gold; all the others shall be of bronze; and the members of the General Council undertake individually to bear the expense of the medal each shall receive.

"Fourth. The statue of George Washington, executed by M. Houdon, shall be given by the Commune to M. La Fayette.

"Fifth. The resolutions of the General Council, after having been approved by the Mayor, the first Assistant of the Council of the Commune and the first Assistant of the Secretary, *shall be engraved on the marble, underneath the bust of M. la Fayette."*

The inscription was drawn up finally on the 15th of November, 1791, and concludes its extraordinary length and construction with: "The Commune, in appreciation, has ordered that a medal be struck in honor of M. La Fayette; that the statue of General Washington, his pattern and his friend, shall be offered him as a gift and conveyed to one of his residences, according to his choice; that the present orders shall be engraved on the marble and placed under his bust, given to the city of Paris by the United States of America, and placed in the Communal House."

As to the statue of Washington, intended to be presented to La Fayette, the procès-verbal for November 17, 1791, contains this: "The Administrators of the Department of Public Works are again charged to present immediately a report on the statue of General Washington, which the General Council ordered to be acquired from M. Houdon." The remainder of the minutes not having survived, it is not known what befell this proposition; but the fact is made perfectly clear that there was no vote of the Commune of Paris in 1791, or at any other time, ordering a bust of La Fayette for the Hôtel de Ville, as positively stated by Montaiglon and Duplessis.

We now come to the important question of when was the bust of La Fayette destroyed, that had been presented to the city of Paris by the State of Virginia and placed in the Hôtel de Ville on the 28th of September, 1786. M. Lacroix writes:

"In the 'Procès-Verbaux de la Commune de Paris, du 10 août

1792 au 1er juin 1793,' published by M. Tourneux, is to be found on page 6:

" 'Assembly of the Commissioners from the Forty-eight Sections, 10 August, 1792.

" 'A member makes a motion to pull down the busts of Bailly, La Fayette, Necker, Louis XVI, all these Charlatans of Patriotism, whose presence wounds the eyes of good citizens.

" 'Some one remarks that workmen are expected for this labor.

" 'But the impatience of the patriots will not suffer this delay. Forty arms are raised at once to throw to the ground these false idols; they fall and are reduced to powder, amid the thunderous applause of the Tribunes.' "[1]

Here is the official seal to the fate of four important works by Houdon, for, strange to say, each one of the four busts thus ground to powder on the 10th of August, 1792, was the work of his chisel, as will be detailed in a subsequent chapter.

The error of Montaiglon and Duplessis in regard to Houdon's bust of La Fayette does not end with the statement we have been discussing. The closing sentence of the extract we have given, from their catalogue of 1855, is equally erroneous. They say, "The Museum of Versailles has another [bust of La Fayette] in marble with the same date of *1791*." The marble bust of La Fayette in the Museum of Versailles, with powdered hair and wearing the

[1] "See also Barrière et Berville's 'Mémoires sur les journées de Septembre 1792,' 1820–1826, and Buchez et Roux's 'Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française,' Tome XVI, 1835." S. L.

uniform of the Commander of the National Guard, is signed by Houdon and dated "1790." It is the one that was exhibited in the Salon of 1791, and whether or not it sustained a mutilation in 1793, it has at some time suffered an injury precisely similar to that sustained by the bust of 1786, belonging to the State of Virginia, and has been restored in a precisely similar manner, which, to say the least, is a curious coincidence.

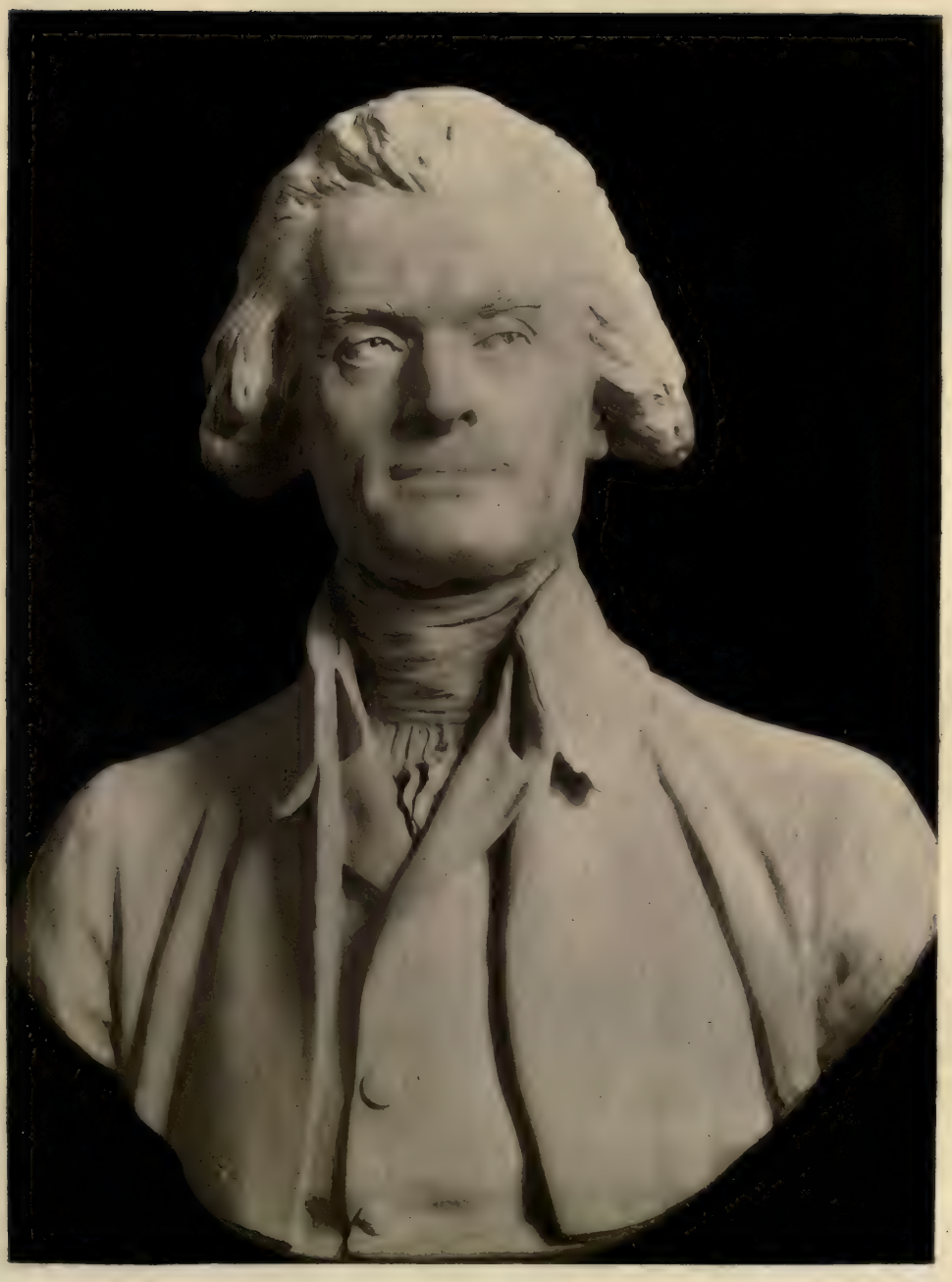
CHAPTER XII

1789

BUSTS OF JEFFERSON—NECKER—LOUIS XVI—BAILLY

WE have seen in the histories of the busts of La Fayette and of the statue of Washington, the very close relations that necessarily existed between the sculptor and Jefferson, the American envoy in Paris, so that it would be most surprising if Houdon had not left us a portrayal of the author of the Declaration of Independence, especially as Jefferson took an intelligent interest in art, was an accomplished connoisseur and an amateur of no mean ability in the difficult field of architecture, as shown by the University of Virginia, which he designed and which would do no discredit to a professional architect of recognized ability. As I said on another occasion,[1] "Jefferson showed himself to be a man of excellent æsthetic taste and with an actual knowledge of art far beyond the general cultivation of his time. His correspondence teems with suggestions and reflections on design and decoration, showing an understanding of the subject, and not merely idle thoughts bestowed upon an ephemeral fad." Therefore we can understand that Houdon would not make any perfunctory bust of

[1] "Life Portraits of Thomas Jefferson," McClure's Magazine for May, 1898.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

such a man, and he did not. He took a mask of Jefferson's face,[1] and to the Salon of 1789 sent his bust in plaster, where it masqueraded in the catalogue as "M. Sesseron, envoyé des États de la Virginie." Subsequently, Houdon chiseled it in marble, for which Jefferson paid him, July 3, 1789, one thousand francs. Unfortunately, this original marble was destroyed by the carelessness of workmen at Monticello, during Jefferson's lifetime, but there are two signed plaster casts of it, one belonging to the New York Historical Society and the other in the hall of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. The former was given by Jefferson to Dr. Hugh Williamson, and the latter by him to David Rittenhouse. Its characterization is very fine, and although decidedly French in its spirit, it gives an aspect of Jefferson that is perfectly natural.

The marble bust of La Fayette by Houdon that Jefferson, acting for his native State, had placed in the Hôtel de Ville, was not alone in its honor and its discomfiture. With it were erected and then tumbled down, busts of the King and of his great Minister of Finance, Necker, as well as of the past Mayor of Paris, Bailly. The downfall of these works has been already mentioned, but their genesis remains to be told.

Jacques Necker, the brother of Madame de Staël, and the great Finance Minister of France, was not French but Swiss. Going to

[1] "Browere's Life-Masks of Great Americans," by Charles Henry Hart, New York, 1899, p. 41.

Paris as a mere youth, he accumulated an immense fortune during the Seven Years' War, so that he retired from business at the early age of thirty-two. In 1779 he was appointed Director-General of Finances of France, with immediate and brilliant results, but jealousy among the courtiers caused his dismissal after four years' service. The administrations of his successors, however, resulted in a financial crisis for France, so that he was recalled in August, 1788, as Comptroller-General and Minister of State. His popularity was immense, and when the King dismissed him on July 11, 1789, Paris arose in insurrection and he was recalled to his offices in triumph, after an absence of eighteen days. On July 30, he appeared at the National Assembly, and as he was about to leave, it was proposed to raise a statue to him in the Hôtel de Ville. This he begged they would not do, assuring the members that the wish they had thus expressed was more than sufficient to complete his happiness; but the Assembly, notwithstanding, ordered that his bust should be placed there.[1] Before separating, they also voted to have executed a bust of M. Bailly.

The subject seems to have rested until the following September, when, on the 7th,[2] a deputation from the district of Philippe du Roule recalled to the Assembly its vote of July 30 and submitted that the district possessed a distinguished artist, M. Houdon, whose hand already had preserved for posterity the features of General Washington and M. le Marquis de la Fayette, and unanimously

[1] "Actes," etc., Vol. I, p. 52.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 497.

requested that they should grant to M. Houdon, "the honor of making also the bust of a minister so dear to France." Whereupon the Assembly, having considered the recommendation, as "also the monuments which have already distinguished the chisel of M. Houdon," thought that it might with confidence charge him with a work "which will procure for him a new and precious occasion of developing his talents." The following day there was presented to the Assembly this letter from Houdon:[1]

> You have added to all that you have done for the happiness and glory of the country in rewarding a Minister who has deserved most of France; you have ordered that his bust shall be placed in the same spot where, night and day, you ceaselessly occupy yourselves with the happiness of your fellow-citizens. Permit an artist full of affection and recognition of your patriotic virtues to reclaim from your goodness the honor of making the bust of M. Necker. The Sieur Houdon has already made that of Washington and that of La Fayette, apostle and defender of the liberty of two worlds. Gratify the ambition of the Sieur Houdon. He only asks a block of marble; he will deem himself too much honored if you order him to consecrate his feeble talent to the honoring of a great man and to those who have discharged a public duty, in decreeing to M. Necker a distinction that no other minister before him had obtained from the city of Paris.

Houdon's proposition to make the bust of Necker gratuitously, only asking that he should be furnished with the block of marble for the purpose, was unanimously accepted, and the next day he ap-

[1] "Actes," etc., Vol. I, p. 504.

peared before the Assembly, in person, and presented his thanks for the acceptance of his offer. Houdon lost no time in accomplishing the work, emphasizing again his remarkable facility and quickness of execution, for on December 30 he advises the Assembly that the bust is ready for installation, he having hastened to finish it in order that those representatives, who had ordered it, should see it placed during their administration, as the elections were coming on which might make changes in the body. The Assembly left it to Houdon to name the day and hour when it would suit him "to place the bust of M. Necker on the support intended for it in the Hôtel de Ville."[1] On January 21, 1790, the Assembly voted,[2]

That, in acknowledgment of the zeal and disinterestedness of M. Houdon, in relation to the bust in marble of M. Necker, of which he was so good as to make a present to the Commune of Paris, a deputation should be appointed to transmit to him the exact sentiments of the Assembly and to hand him a medal relative to his masterpiece which shall preserve, to posterity, the proof of his civic virtue and patriotism.

This bust of Necker was immediately reproduced at the royal factory at Sèvres in small size, and in March, 1790, one was sent by the Comte d'Estaing to General Washington and occupied a place in the library at Mount Vernon. It is now in the cabinet of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

No sooner was this incident closed than the King made his famous speech of February 4th, which so enthused the Assembly that it ordered the speech to be engraved on a tablet of brass and placed

[1] "Actes," etc., Vol. III, p. 383. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 501.

in the Sessions Chamber, when Houdon again came to the fore with an offer to make this monument, submitting at the same time a sketch of a book of marble entitled "The Constitution," upon the open leaves of which should be cut the speech of the King to the National Assembly.[1] Houdon was not alone in generosity. M. Girardot de Marigny wished to pay the expense of the monument, offering 10,000 francs for the purpose. But the Assembly would none of it, feeling that accepting any offer would lessen the force and dignity of their action, and determined that the brass tablet "should be made at the cost alone of the representatives of the Commune." The King, to show his appreciation of the vote of the Assembly, advised that body on February 16, by the hand of his minister, the Comte de Saint Priest,[2] that, agreeably to its expressed wishes, he had ordered Houdon to make his bust for presentation to the Commune, which was accepted and a deputation of twenty-four of its members were selected to convey its thanks to the King. This bust was a replica of that exhibited at the Salon of 1787, and was installed in the Hôtel de Ville on the 23d of March, 1790, without any ceremony, as was the bust of Necker. Of the one at Versailles, which is of the same year—1790—as this one, Geffroy[3] says, "The King! Houdon transfigures him with a touch of his chisel. He is a Roman in his toga mounting to the Capitol, and not a great woolly sheep going to the slaughter-house."

[1] "Actes," etc., Vol. IV, p. 44. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 127.
[3] "Les Chefs d'Œuvre de Versailles," par Gustave Geffroy, p. 77.

To Houdon also was confided the execution of the bust of Bailly, that had been voted on the same day as was voted the bust of Necker; and on April 8, 1790, a lively discussion arose, in the Assembly, as to the mode of the reception of this bust, some members desiring a formal presentation, while others argued that, as there had been no particular ceremony attending the reception of the bust of Necker, or even the King's bust, that of the Mayor should not be attended with more pomp.[1] Finally, it was brought in and placed on the table of the Secretaries, when, however, the President of the Assembly, l'Abbé Bertolio, made the remarks already quoted in the chapter on the bust of La Fayette. In the Municipal Journal of the Department of Paris for April 10, 1791, one may read: "In the large room of the Hôtel de Ville, one sees alongside of the bust of Louis XVI, regenerator of French liberty, those of the three men who had the greatest influence on the French Revolution, MM. Necker, de la Fayette and Bailly."

As we have already seen, in little more than a year these four busts were tumbled from their pedestals and ground to dust by some of the same fanatics who had been instrumental in placing them there, and thus four of Houdon's important works were ruthlessly destroyed.

[1] "Actes," etc., Vol. IV, p. 636.

CHAPTER XIII

1791–1814

ESCAPES THE GUILLOTINE—BUSTS OF ROBERT FULTON AND OF JOEL BARLOW; OF NAPOLEON AND OF JOSEPHINE

THE Salon of 1791 differed essentially from former Salons. Up to this time the right of exhibition in the palace of the Louvre had been entirely restricted to members of the Académie des Beaux Arts, but, with the leveling tendencies of the day, the National Assembly on the 21st of August, 1791, suppressed this last privilege and opened its doors to "plebeian art." The Salons always opened on August 25th at this period, and lasted one month, as at present, so the decree was passed with an evident view of affecting the impending exhibition.

At this Salon, Houdon exhibited a repetition, in bronze, of his "Frileuse," literally the "Shivering Female," but typifying "Winter," the original marble having been made as far back as 1783, and then exhibited in his studio. In 1828 it was presented to the Montpellier Museum, where it is to be found at the present day, with a companion, "Summer," executed in 1785. A composition of two heads, "Love and Friendship," also known under the name of "The Kiss," was exhibited, but its material is not indicated. From the number of repetitions in varying materials made of this last-named

piece, it must possess some charming qualities. One of these repetitions is in the Museum of Decorative Arts in Paris.

In the way of portrait-busts, we have Bailly, President of Jeu de Paume; Necker, the celebrated financier; and, finally, Mirabeau. A bust of La Fayette and also repetitions of Voltaire and of Franklin were in the collection, and mention is made of a female bust and some heads of children. This seems to indicate considerable activity for an artist now past his fiftieth year, and who had spent thirty of them in the most tireless and incessant industry. And the mention of "a female bust and some heads of children," as well as emphasizing his activity, means much more than the mere words would indicate, for there is little doubt that the reference is to the busts he modeled of his charming wife and at least two of his very attractive children. As we shall see in the next chapter, Houdon married in 1786 and had three daughters, named respectively Sabine, Anne-Ange and Claudine. It was not publicly known, however, until half a dozen years ago, when they were acquired from the family, for the Salle Houdon, in the Louvre, that Houdon had made busts of his wife and of his two oldest daughters, and only in May of 1911, when the collection of art objects belonging to Pierre Decourcelle was offered for sale, in Paris, did it come to light that later he had added that of his youngest daughter, the infant Claudine. Had Houdon not made his wonderful Voltaire and his beautiful Diana, his realistic Glück and his ideal Molière, his position in his art would have been assured by those four works of love

MADAME HOUDON

of the members of his close family circle. Description is unnecessary, as we are fortunate enough to have reproductions of those in the Louvre—of Mme. Houdon and of Sabine and of Anne-Ange—but unfortunately the little Claudine became known too late to be secured for our purpose. That she was artistically a worthy companion of the others, if not their superior, is shown by the appreciation shown her at the sale, where she brought 48,000 francs, while her older sisters brought respectively 20,200 and 20,000 francs each.

The period of the Revolution is now upon us. The Reign of Terror came very near being fatal to Houdon, and considering the bloodthirsty passions of the chief actors in it and how quickly punishment followed on the steps of accusation, we almost tremble for our artist as we read the account of his escape. As an ancient academician and former member of a privileged body, and so connected in that way with the old order of things, he was already under suspicion. A graphic contemporary account[1] is before us, reciting the incident of his being accused and his escape, and we cannot do better than transcribe from it:

" . . . The nightly arrests, the menace of the guillotine, were also the orders of the day against the artists of the Louvre by the Terrorist government. Houdon was one of them, and the patriotism of this quiet, blameless, and honest man was suspected. It was

[1] "Fragments sur Paris, par Meyer," Vol. II, pp. 223 and 227. Cited by Montaiglon and Duplessis, p. 345.

imputed to him as a crime that he had not offered any patriotic work; this showed his anti-Revolutionary spirit. He was threatened with incarceration, and the great number of busts and statues coming from his hands, which, like Rousseau and Voltaire, represented the torches of philosophy, would not have saved him, for those characters, too, had died in the bosom of aristocracy."

He was saved by the presence of mind and resolution of his noble wife. Houdon had finished the statue in marble of Saint Scholastique, which had been ordered, some years previously, by a convent in Paris. This saint was represented very simply, without mystical attributes, with an open book in his hand, as might be a statue of Philosophy. Mme. Houdon made use of this circumstance. She knew that her husband had been threatened; so she presented herself before the Committee of Public Safety, under whose iron rule the whole community bent. Barère, whom she found there, at once charged her husband with being a poor republican, for not having as yet executed any patriotic work. "Houdon," she tranquilly replied, "has made a statue of Philosophy. Come and see it in his studio. Philosophy paved the way for the Revolution; it claims its place beside Liberty in the Temple of Justice." Barère was favorably impressed. "That is a fine idea," he said; "I approve your suggestion, and I will communicate it to the Committee." He warmly advocated the proposition, and as a result the statue of the heretofore saint was carried off from Houdon's studio and placed in the outer hallway of the Convention, and Houdon was saved.

There can be no doubt about the occurrence; for, like the disciples' evidence in the Scriptures, we have the same account variously given. Barère himself afterward relates, in notes that were published: "I knew that Houdon, a famous sculptor, had no work, that his fortunes and his studio were languishing. I went to see his works. I found among those that the Revolution did not allow of his finishing a beautiful statue in Italian marble of Saint Eustache.[1] It was intended for a lateral chapel of the Church of the Invalides. 'Finish that statue,' I said to him, 'attach to it some attributes identifying it with Liberty; and the Committee will pay you for it at once, in order to place it in the entrance chamber of the Convention Hall.' Houdon laughed at my project; nevertheless, he executed it, was paid, and had the statue placed in the chamber indicated, which is called the Chamber of Liberty. Houdon is living; he can certify to the fact."[2]

Barère is silent as to the danger Houdon ran and as to his aiding him. This is no reason for doubting the fact. There were memories connected with the Committee of Public Safety that it might be well not to revive, which sufficiently explains his silence. Houdon's family always retained a lively sense of obligation to Barère. "If M. Houdon did not become a victim, in those fatal days, it was owing entirely to the Conventionnel Barère, who, always faithful

[1] Elsewhere, in a short enumeration of Houdon's works, these same "Mémoires" of Barère, Paris, 1842, Vol. IV, p. 247, call it by its true name, "Saint Scholastica, intended for the Church of the Invalides, and which was transformed in 1793 into a statue of Philosophy."

[2] "Mémoires de Barère," Vol. II, p. 143.

to the cause of the Fine Arts, defended him with energy against perfidious accusations." So writes Raoul Rochette, Houdon's son-in-law, in his notice of the artist introductory to the catalogue of Houdon's sale.

It seems to be thought highly probable that David, the painter, was the author and instigator of the accusations against Houdon. If so, time brought its revenge, for when David was imprisoned and pursued by the commissioners of the Section of the Museum, Mme. Houdon submitted some damaging testimony against him which he was at considerable pains to refute. Eventually, in 1815, he was banished from France, and died in Belgium.

At the Salon of the year 1 (August, 1793),[1] Houdon exhibited a reduction of his "Vestal Virgin," the original in bronze having been exhibited at the Salon of 1777, and a "Petite Frileuse"; as also a small model, a foot high, of an equestrian statue of Washington. It seems really amazing that any Salon at all was held at this time.

To the next Salon, in 1795, he sent but one bust. This was the portrait of the Abbé Barthélemy, author of the celebrated "Voyage du jeune Anacharsis," a book of immense learning which it took its author thirty years to complete. His fame came late in life, for the book did not appear until 1788, when the Abbé was in his seventy-third year. He was the style of model Houdon particularly ex-

[1] The calendar of the French Revolution began, by decree of the National Convention of November 24, 1793, on the autumnal equinox, September 22, 1792, the midnight of the date of its first meeting, and was composed of twelve months. It ceased by order of Napoleon on September 9, 1805, so that its life was the unlucky thirteen years.

celled in delineating, and he appears to have exhibited his talent again at its best. Nivernois, the biographer of Barthélemy, speaking of the Abbé and Houdon's bust of him, writes: "His face had an antique cast, and his bust may happily be placed only between those of Plato and Aristotle. It is the work of a skilled hand (M. Houdon), who has divined how to illustrate in his countenance that mixture of gentleness, simplicity, amiability and dignity which made transparent, so to speak, the soul of this unusual man."

The year 1795 marks two events in Houdon's life,—the loss of a younger sister, Madeleine Pélagie Houdon, and his enforced removal from the workshops he had occupied in a wing of the Municipal Library. This necessitated a sale of some of his collected works. The auction took place on the 8th of October, and a list of the objects disposed of includes, besides a number of paintings, some dozen works of his own. The busts are of Paul Jones, Buffon, Franklin, Voltaire and Mirabeau. His vexation and preoccupation, owing to this last disturbance, doubtless account for his meagre contribution to the Salon of 1796. We find but a terra-cotta bust of M. Pastoret and a marble of his statue "La Frileuse." The agitations and uncertainties of the period had frozen the current of his genius and limited the exercise of his talent, so that his name does not appear at all as an exhibitor in the Salons of 1798 and 1799. We are not to see any revival in him until the Consular period, when to the Salons of 1800 and 1801 he contributed several busts, but unfortunately names are not given in the catalogue. In

the latter year he made a heroic bust of Mirabeau for the Gallery of the Consuls, and the next year a similar one of Washington for the same place. These two busts are now in the Museum at Versailles. In 1802 he had five, including marbles of d'Alembert and of Barthélemy, which were of course repetitions of earlier originals. Mme. Rode and the well-known Margravine of Anspach were also among his contributions. In 1804 Houdon again exhibited portraits, including busts of Marshal Ney, Joel Barlow, later American Minister to France, and Robert Fulton, the perfecter of the steamboat for practical navigation. The latter began life as a miniature-painter, a fact as generally forgotten or unknown as that Morse of electric telegraph fame began his career in the same way. At the age of twenty-one he went abroad to study and pursue art, but was soon diverted to mechanics, and in a few years engaged in the improvement of the canal navigation of Great Britain, a treatise upon which he subsequently published. In 1794 he went to Paris and became a member of the family of Joel Barlow, where he painted a panorama, the first ever shown in the French capital. In Paris, under the auspices of the French government, he also made experiments on the Seine with submarine navigation to be used in torpedo warfare, but, owing to some differences, left France and went back to England, in 1804. It must therefore have been toward the close of his sojourn in France, that Houdon modeled his bust of Fulton, as it is inscribed "houdon An xii R. Fulton 38 ans," which shows it to have been done before September 22, 1803, and it was in

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the Salon of August, 1804, in marble. A plaster cast belonging to the French government, originally in the Versailles Museum, has been transferred recently to the Musée de Marine, and the cast from which our reproduction is made belongs to the National Academy of Design, New York. The marble is unknown.

Doubtless it was about the same time that Houdon modeled the Fulton bust he modeled his bust of Joel Barlow, a marble of which was also in the Salon of 1804, probably the one now owned by a great-grandnephew of Barlow, Mr. H. P. Chambers of Washington, Pa. One in plaster belongs to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and another to the National Academy of Design, New York. President Madison had one in marble, but its present whereabouts cannot be traced. As may be seen, Barlow is transformed by Houdon from an American citizen into a French *citoyen,* which does not accord at all with Fulton's portrait of Barlow, which is the only familiar likeness of him that we have. Yet we feel like saying, "Amen," to Houdon rather than to Fulton, where a matter of portraiture is in question. The author of the "Columbiad" went to France in 1788 as the agent for an American land scheme which failed, and he became a Girondist, being nominated for deputy to the National Convention, but failed of election. He gave up politics and amassed a fortune in speculations, and wrote in Paris the poem by which he is known. He returned to America, in 1805, and six years later was sent as Minister to France, and died in Poland, whither he had gone to meet Napoleon at the latter's request.

Houdon also exhibited a colossal statue of Cicero, ordered by the Emperor for the Senate Chamber. This statue has been variously criticized, and on the whole does not seem to have added to Houdon's reputation, but it is easy to imagine that, with the standard set by himself in those earlier works, like his Diana and his Voltaire, public expectation would be disappointed in anything falling below them, while a statue possessing half their merit, by any other chisel, might have been considered highly meritorious.

On December 17th of 1804, Houdon was decorated by the Emperor with the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and a little later, by decree of January 24, 1805, "M. Houdon, sculptor and member of the National Institute, is named professor of the special schools for painting, sculpture and architecture, taking the place of M. Julien, deceased." He had been appointed an adjunct professor of the old Academy of Painting and Sculpture on July 7, 1792, which of course ceased with its disestablishment after nearly one hundred and fifty years of life.[1] This new honor and appointment doubtless stimulated and encouraged Houdon very sensibly, judging from the superlative quality of his work exhibited in 1806. That his hand had not lost its cunning was plainly shown in the noble portrait of Napoleon, when Emperor, made from life sittings given

[1] The Academy of Painting and Sculpture was founded by Louis XIV, February 1, 1648, and ceased to exist August 8, 1793. In 1795 the National Convention established the Institute of France to replace the old academies, which were revived as sections of the Institute, and under the Restoration their traditional names were restored to them as we now have them. Houdon's membership in the Academy dated from July 26, 1777, and he was one of the original members of the new Institute.

at St. Cloud, and shown at the Salon in 1806. The Empress Josephine gave sittings also for the bust of her which he modeled and which was exhibited at the same time. In the next Salon, of 1808, he also exhibited busts in marble of the Emperor and of the Empress, but from the difference between the bust of Napoleon at Dijon and that in Versailles they were probably from distinct sittings. These busts, but little known to-day, had the merit of being most striking likenesses, and brought Houdon the recognition of being superior to all his rivals in the portrayal of the imperial pair; the opinion upon the bust of Napoleon being unanimous that it was the best of all the portraits that had been made of him. Délerot and Legrelle say, "The critics of the day who only had enthusiasm for David and his school were forced to accord to Houdon the praise that real merit wrung from their slight sympathy, perhaps their ignorance, perhaps even disdain for a distinguished past." Of the splendid bust at Dijon, Armand Dayot, who commends it most highly, particularly for its fine showing of the imperialism in the man, says:[1] "Bonaparte by Gros is not merely an out and out masterpiece in drawing, in its expression of action and in its coloring, but also a unique document. . . . And to convince oneself of the sincerity of the likeness, its exact features and its truth of expression, it suffices to compare it for a moment with the admirable bust of the Emperor, by Houdon, now to be found in the Museum at Dijon, and for which Napoleon sat as well, al-

[1] "Napoléon raconté par l'Image, par Armand Dayot," Paris, 1902, p. 24.

though less frequently. Lose sight for a moment of the long, flowing hair, round out the outlines, extinguish the fiery glance in which the glare of battle lurks, bare the torso and you will discover the face eternized in marble by the great sculptor and upon which the artist has impressed with so much genius the scornful majesty of the Cæsar. The portrait of the hero of Arcole, by Gros! The bust of the Emperor, by Houdon! Behold the two portraits typical of Bonaparte and of Napoleon! The two immortal likenesses in which one may read the magnetic heroism of the soldier and the gigantic dream of the Cæsar. Beyond a doubt the painter and the statuary have instinctively invested their subject with a species of divine grandeur. But what matters it if the quasi-Olympian expression, well justified by the epic grandeur of the model, does not in any way detract from the truthfulness of the face and features?" And Claude Phillips has written: "Houdon, . . . after having portrayed, with unapproachable mastery and insight, the most interesting personalities of the eighteenth century, . . . so altered his style with his subject as to produce a sublime bust of Napoleon I—the only portrait in which, without theatrical pose, his constructive ideality is convincingly shown—and to occupy himself with the bronze adornments, in the imperial style, which were destined for the great column of Boulogne."

Houdon had earlier made a bust of Bonaparte as First Consul, which is rated as one of the best likenesses of Napoleon at that period. Unfortunately, the original has been lost, but it is well

NAPOLEON

known by having been often reproduced at Sèvres, in small sizes, and in our frontispiece the sculptor is represented modeling this bust on his block. It is one of the few portraits of Napoleon where he is represented wearing short, close side-whiskers. Of this bust Michelet, in his "History of the Nineteenth Century," says: "I know of but two faithful portraits of Napoleon. One is the small bust by Houdon (1800), wild, dark and threatening, suggesting a sinister enigma. The other is a painting, and represents him at full length in his cabinet (1810). It is a work by David." Here we have two acute criticisms upon Houdon's two busts of Napoleon, as First Consul and as Emperor, by two different minds, by Michelet and by Dayot, at two different epochs, and but one conclusion can be deduced from them, which is the very palpable one, that our sculptor's delineations of the same man at two different periods of his career are the best renditions of Bonaparte and of Napoleon that have come down to us. Michelet selects the earlier bust as the best Bonaparte, and Dayot selects the later bust as the best Napoleon. Surely this is a crowning of a career not vouchsafed to many, and shows anew, if it were necessary, how consummate an artist Jean Antoine Houdon was.

Napoleon gave Houdon frequent sittings, and a note in Délerot and Legrelle states: "We have before us a letter of Denon's (without date), in which he begs Houdon to present himself at St. Cloud at precisely nine o'clock in the morning, when 'the Emperor will give him a sitting.'" The bust at Dijon is inscribed, "Sa Majesté

l'Empereur, Roy, fait d'après Nature, Saint-Cloud (Août 1806), houdon f." It is undraped and in plaster, and was sold at Houdon's sale in 1828 (*vide* Appendix "E," No. 43), and bequeathed by M. Foisset of Dijon to the Museum of that town. Those in marble of the Emperor and the Empress are in the Museum at Versailles.

A good anecdote connected with these sittings has also been preserved. The story goes that the Emperor liked Houdon's candor, vivacity and simple manners, and said to him, "I hold you in great esteem, M. Houdon. I want to do something that will be as agreeable to yourself as that which you are doing for me. Ask of me, therefore, for yourself and family what you would like best." "Well, Sire, the sword in my statue of Tourville is broken; give orders that it shall be repaired." "Ah, there speaks the true artist," Napoleon is said to have replied, shaking him warmly by the hand.

About this time, a colossal statue of Napoleon to surmount a column, voted by the Expeditionary Army in 1804, and to be erected at Boulogne, was under way. Houdon executed the model (1805), which was eighteen feet in height. The Emperor was satisfied with it, and Houdon then cast it in bronze. "The Emperor was represented standing on a shield, upheld by three eagles with extended wings, and the figure was not inferior to the artist's best works, although he was then sixty-five years of age."

When the statue was about being sent to its destination, the events of 1812 supervened. The idea of planting it by the seaside, as a spectre intended to frighten England, was abandoned. 1814 and

1815 made Houdon's statue useless. Not only was no site deemed appropriate for it, but the statue was not even preserved; that and the bas-relief for the pedestal made for it suffered the fate of perishing completely.

Houdon little thought, when he aided the now little-known artist, Roguier, by his advice and counsel in an effort to plan a completed equestrian statue of Henry IV on the Pont-Neuf, that, in something over a month's time,[1] the provisional work to which he lent his aid would lead to a completed statue of which his own Napoleon would form a part. But that is what happened; for, when the necessary metal was got together to cast Lemot's equestrian statue of Henry IV which was erected on the Pont-Neuf in 1817, the bronze of several monuments lying in the government workshops was put at the disposition of the artist by the Minister of the Interior, and among them was this colossal statue of Napoleon by Houdon.

Connected with this melting and casting of Napoleon's effigy into the statue of Henry IV, a witticism of Houdon's is preserved. The aged sculptor was found one day standing on the Pont des Arts, looking over at the equestrian figure on the Pont-Neuf. Upon being asked at what he was gazing, he quietly answered, "I had not made it like that."[2]

[1] March 20 to May 3. Cf. Lafolie, pp. 91–94.

[2] It seems appropriate to state here that the well-known bust of Mme. Récamier, attributed to Houdon, and examples of which bear his name *but not his signature,* is not by him, according to a note in "Mme. Récamier," from the French of Édouard

The Salon of 1812 also counted Houdon among its exhibitors; and his works were of a character to attract attention: a bust of Boissy d'Anglas, the senator, and two large marble statues—one of General Joubert and the other a new Voltaire for the library of the Institute, but which was installed in the Panthéon. We speak of it as a *new* Voltaire, for it was not a repetition of the chef-d'œuvre at the Comédie, but a new figure in which the great man is represented standing, enveloped in heavy drapery so disposed as to allow for the accommodation of the figure in a certain niche intended for its reception. Buried in the dark recesses of the Panthéon, this statue is little known, but a modern French writer, having seen it on some recent funeral occasion, dwells at considerable length on its artistic merit. Earlier criticism speaks in praise of the modeling of the head, while the thinness of the figure, which our artist deemed it obligatory to portray, is spoken of as making the body appear somewhat too long. This criticism appeared in the "Moniteur," in 1813, according to Montaiglon and Duplessis.

These statues of Joubert and of Voltaire were the last to go to the exhibitions from Houdon's hand, and they are, no doubt, the last statues that he made. He exhibited his last bust at the Salon of 1814; but the destinies of France had changed in the interval, the

Herriot by Alys Hallard, 1906, Vol. II, p. 380, where it is attributed to Chinard, quoting from Frédéric Masson, in the "Figaro Illustré," for March, 1893. In the catalogue of Houdon's works accompanying the brochure of Dr. Hermann Dierks is the following entry: "Récamier, Madame. Gypsum (painted). Attributed to Houdon. In the possession of Mr. Louis Cahen of Antwerp." Casts of it in plaster and in bronze are quite familiar in the shops.

Allies had entered Paris, and this bust is of Alexander, Emperor of all the Russias. "If Houdon had been younger, his reputation would have insured him as many works as were accorded the brush of Isabey, and he would have modeled all the kings and ministers and foreign generals entering Paris. But Houdon was too far on in years to be considered in such a connection, and this occasion, which otherwise would have been productive of orders, limited itself to regal visits."

The final sentence in the above quotation alludes to the visit of the King of Prussia to Houdon's studio, in company with Humboldt, recorded in the "Moniteur" of September 18, 1815, p. 1032, as follows: "His Majesty the King of Prussia, accompanied by the celebrated traveler M. de Humboldt, visited day before yesterday the studio of M. Houdon. His Majesty appeared particularly pleased with a bust of Molière in which the artist had so happily expressed the quality of his talent, as well as faithfully rendering the features of the creator of our comic stage."

CHAPTER XIV

1814–1828

LAST DAYS AND DEATH—PORTRAITS OF HOUDON—HIS HONORS AND HIS GENIUS

WE have been dealing with Houdon almost entirely from the standpoint of his art, saying but little of his personality beyond an occasional reference to his simplicity and industry. As we approach the end of his career, we shall endeavor to throw more light upon the character of the man who, for so long a period, has riveted the attention of all Europe by his wonderful artistic genius.

Devotion to his art was the key-note of his existence. We see it in his first beginnings, later in his assiduity at Rome and resplendently on his return to Paris. With that eagerness which distinguished him in his art, he turned to advantage every opportunity for modeling the likenesses of the celebrities of his day. Houdon rarely failed to make the busts of people attracting, even though fleetingly, public attention. In pursuing this course, he was sure of drawing the attention of a great number of people to his work, and his popularity gained thereby. Many people whom his best works would not have attracted had noticed the bust of Mlle. Lise. Thus, also, he made the bust of Cagliostro, which Louis Gonze terms "an

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excellent work, full of life and of picturesqueness, the most delicate execution, simple yet robust," a marble of which, signed, "houdon f. 1786," may be found in the Musée d'Aix. He made those of all the aëronauts of the day—Montgolfier, Pilastre des Rosiers, Charles, d'Arlandes and Robert.[1] When a subscription was opened for striking a gold medal in honor of Montgolfier, it was Houdon who made the drawing for it. A reflection found among his papers throws light on this marked trait. He writes: "One of the finest attributes of the difficult art of the sculptor is to preserve the truthfulness of form and to render almost imperishable the image of those who have contributed either to the glory or the happiness of their country. This idea has followed me constantly, and encouraged me during long hours of labor."

He seems to have been entirely free from the besetting sins of jealousy, self-seeking and vanity common to so many men of genius. Jefferson, writing to Washington, commends him in the highest terms, and Franklin, who passed forty-eight days with him at sea on their passage to this country, writes of him in the most flattering manner. Testimony of this character is of the most convincing kind, for these were men not easily deceived, who would have at once detected any weakness or sordidness in our artist's motives, had any lurked there. On the contrary, they are ever ready to bear witness to his high integrity of purpose.

Jefferson, writing from Paris to William Temple Franklin, un-

[1] "Journal de Paris," December 3, 1783.

der date of May 7, 1786, states: "Houdon is about taking a wife." Houdon was then in his forty-fifth year. On July 1, 1786, he married Marie-Ange-Cécile Langlois, a native of Amiens, whose father was in the service of the King. Had Houdon been married to her when he visited America, and had she chosen to accompany him, he would not have needed the services of an interpreter, for her knowledge of English is shown through a French translation of an English novel, "Dalmour," which she published in 1804.[1] As we have seen, three daughters were the issue of this marriage. These in turn contracted marriages, the husband of Anne-Ange, the second daughter, being Désiré-Raoul Rochette, a man of considerable artistic and scientific attainments.[2] It seems to have been the latter's intention to have written a biography of Houdon, and much regret has been expressed by French writers that he failed to carry out this intention. He did write a biographical introduction to the Catalogue of 1828, which is frequently referred to.

As we have already stated, after 1814, Houdon, being seventy-three years of age, gradually withdrew more and more from active life. He continued to teach, however, probably until about his eightieth year. As has been epigrammatically put, "Toward the

[1] Marie-Ange-Cécile Langlois Houdon was as much distinguished for her wit as for her beauty. This lady made an elegant and faithful translation of an English novel, "Dalmour," by Miss Damer. She died in Paris in 1823, aged 75 years. "Biographie Universelle," Paris, 1858 (Michaud), Vol. XX, p. 49.

[2] The eldest daughter married M. Henri-Jean Pineau Duval, while the youngest became the wife of Dr. Louyer-Villermé, and a daughter of Mme. Rochette married the distinguished Italian engraver Luigi Calamatta.

end, he consoled himself for not producing busts by turning out artists."

He began now also nightly to frequent the performances at the Théâtre-Français as a means of agreeable relaxation, and among the anecdotes preserved of him at this late period is one connected with the Theatre. It so happened that the building was closed for a considerable period of time during certain alterations. On the day of its reopening Houdon came as usual, but a new ticket-taker had been engaged since his last visit.

"Sir, sir, your ticket!"

"I don't need any," and the venerable figure continued to advance.

"But, sir, no one enters without a ticket."

"I have my entrance, sir." (Growing warm.)

"But how do you call yourself?"

"How I call myself!" (Voice growing louder.) "How I call myself!" Then, pointing to the statue in the peristyle, "I 'm the father of Voltaire!" And he passed in triumphantly without further reply. The amusing part is that the next evening, as Houdon passed in, the ticket-taker turned to his assistant and instructed him to inscribe on the register of entries for the evening, "M. Voltaire, le père." It is easy to imagine the hilarious reception of this at the Theatre, and for some time after our old habitué passed under this cognomen entirely.

But the time came when he was no longer able to venture abroad

after nightfall, and if contemporary opinion had been consulted at the Français it would doubtless have placed his death at 1824 or 1825, for after that he was little there. It was at eighty-two years of age, after having enjoyed unchanging health with the one exception of an attack shortly before embarking for America, that serious illness overtook him. His iron constitution triumphed, however, but from this time on he grew weaker. Finally, in his eighty-seventh year, on the 15th of July, 1828,[1] his light was extinguished.

Houdon's fame has not merely been maintained, but, judging from articles that have appeared in the magazines and art reviews of England, France and Germany during the past score of years, is steadily on the increase. Every critic undeviatingly bends the knee to him, and each and all hail him as one of the truly great artists of France.

Through the instrumentality of the Society of Arts and Letters at Versailles, his native town, a statue has been erected there to his memory. Among the subscribers to the fund, and following a subscription of 10,000 francs by the municipality, we find the Emperor of Russia contributing 1000 francs, with a note from the Russian Ambassador expressing the high appreciation entertained by his countrymen for Houdon's talent. What was of especial interest as showing the nation's homage to the memory of its greatest sculptor, was the permit issued by the state to open, for a benefit perform-

[1] Jal, "Dictionnaire Critique de Biographie et d'Histoire," Paris, 1872, p. 689.

ance in aid of the statue, the Trianon Theatre, which had been closed since Marie Antoinette last appeared there on the stage, August 19, 1785, when she acted *Rosina,* in Beaumarchais's "Barbier de Séville." The receipts from the two performances that were given amounted to the handsome sum of 10,880 francs, a generous tribute from the people to art and the artist. The monument was inaugurated with much ceremony on the 28th of June, 1891.[1] The statue itself we have not seen; a sketch, however, by F. Prudhomme, is before us. The attitude of the figure is rather theatrical —the artist, whether intentionally or not, seeking to idealize the art of sculpture rather than to present a truthful likeness of the subject. The latter stands as if making an address from the tribune, the left arm extended, the hand holding a chisel, while the right, in which a mallet is grasped, rests upon a partly finished and roughly hewn bust, evidently of Voltaire. To connect him with this event of his career a more mature figure is demanded, for Houdon was approaching forty at that time. A specimen of his work during his apprenticeship at Rome would have been more in harmony with the youthful stripling evoked by M. Tony Noël, the sculptor of the figure.

Paris has her "Salle Houdon" in the Louvre, in which are gathered twenty-two of Houdon's works, including a Diana in bronze, the marble Morphée, his wife and two of his daughters, and busts of some half dozen of his most renowned subjects. But, as our

[1] "Autour de la Statue de Jean Houdon, par Albert Terrade," Versailles, 1892.

catalogue will show, France treasures our artist's work in other museums within her borders: the Museum at Montpellier probably contains one of the most representative collections, although Dijon and Tours especially possess choice examples of Houdon's genius. At Versailles, also, some of his most important busts will be found. Paris has further commemorated his memory in a "Rue Houdon." But these are posthumous honors, for which he did not have to wait to receive evidences of general appreciation. He was so well known that when a writer of fiction of his day had need for a great sculptor's name, that of Houdon fell naturally from his pen. Thus de Tressan, in his pretty story, "Petit Jehan de Saintre," writes this passage. He is describing a monk brought up in an abbey. "His talents, his charming countenance, his strength, his measure of height, perfected themselves from day to day, and the celebrated Houdon would have chosen him as a model had he wished to chisel a Hercules."

In addition to being made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor by Napoleon, as we have seen, he was made a Chevalier of the Empire by letters patent of January 28, 1809, which eight years later was confirmed by Louis XVIII.

As some persons can better measure the appreciation of an artist by the commercial value of his works, Houdon will not fall below their estimate when tested by this commercialism. Almost three decades ago, in 1883, at the Baroness de Courvalle's sale, Houdon's marble bust of Mme. Servat sold for 44,000 francs, while at the

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famous Talleyrand-Sagan sale in Paris, May, 1899, Houdon's Molière, in white marble, signed and dated 1782, brought 50,000 francs, and his bust of La Fontaine, in the same material, 30,000 francs. In 1908, a well-known London dealer had plaster busts of Voltaire and of Rousseau, which had been presented to the Société des Amis de l'Instruction, at Geneva, in the eighteenth century, and bearing a seal inscribed, "Acade. Royale de Peinture et Sculp. Houdon sc.," for which he asked two thousand pounds. They were acquired by Mr. J. P. Morgan, and are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The sale of the Diana in New York, in 1910, for $51,000, and of the Claudine in Paris, this year, for 48,000 francs, are further proof.

Now that we have seen Houdon in his life and in his works, we naturally turn to consider what manner of man he was; how he appeared to his contemporaries and to his friends and to the legion of distinguished personages whose individual personalities have been preserved for us by his magical genius.

Some writer, carried away by epigrammatism, has derisively written, "Portraiture is nothing more than art placed at the service of vanity," and then seeks, irrationally, to controvert Lessing's argument that, in the portrait, it is sought to represent the ideal of a determinate person and not that of men in general, and to place portraiture below works of the imagination as being a mere copying of the subject or model. While vanity may be the mainspring instigating many persons to have their portraits preserved, it is not

only a pardonable vanity but it is a laudable one, and, far from degrading art and the artist to the plane of a mere copying, elevates both; portraiture being in art what biography is in letters—its highest department. "How dead the past would be but for the 'counterfeit presentments' that we have of the men and women who lived in the days that have gone before! 'We see the faithful effigies of those who have played extraordinary parts and proved themselves select men among men. We read their countenances, we trace their characters and conduct in the unreal images, and then, as if made free of their company, follow on with redoubled animation the events in which they lived and moved and had their being.' "[1] As Carlyle once wrote, "In all my poor historical investigation it has been, and always is, one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the person inquired after." We want to see the features, the physical individuality, of the personages about whom we read. Without such a visible record, without the power of picturing to our mind the individual as he was, his name and fame are mere abstractions to us, and we lose half the force of his personality. In the expression of a man's countenance, we can always trace his character, and we retain a more correct recollection of his actions by keeping in our minds a lively impression of his appearance. That it is not true portraiture is a mere copying, it is only necessary to have recourse to the lifelike character busts that

[1] "Hints on Portraits and How to Catalogue Them," by Charles Henry Hart, Philadelphia, 1898, p. 9.

Houdon modeled, and compare them with the perfunctory portraits that we know of the same subjects by other hands. Without ever having seen the originals, we will see the difference in the portrait by the true artist, who depicts not only the features of the subject, but also the spirit and the character, making the portrait vibrant with life, and the portrait by the mere copyist, whose every line is true and exact, but dead. As Claude Phillips has said,[1] "Houdon joins a masterly skill in the presentation of the osseous and muscular structure of the human head and a magic power of vivifying with the Promethean spark of life the faithful reproduction thus obtained. To this power Houdon adds a rarer skill, for his portraits not only represent the living, breathing man, but they suggest, with a subtle truth, free from a touch of exaggeration, the human individual." If the position asserted by the epigrammatist were tenable, nothing could be more satisfactory in portraiture than the pictures produced by the camera. Yet every one knows that, while they are doubtless almost mathematically exact, they are wholly unsatisfactory. A portrait is not a copy—a mathematically exact reproduction of the features and form. It is the expression of the character that dominates the portrait. As Sir Joshua Reynolds has said in one of his discourses, "In portraits the grace, and we may add the likeness, consists more in taking the general air than in observing the exact similitude of every feature." Therefore it is supremely true that in portraiture both artist and public find the

[1] "London Art Journal," 1893, p. 80.

keenest satisfaction, and that the greatest works of art, of the past and of the present, are portraits. Such being the case, we are indeed grateful to Houdon that he was not unmindful to leave his own portrait behind him for us to see what manner of man he was, although not by his own hand.[1]

Augustin Jal, in his erudite and recondite critical dictionary of history and biography, gives this slight pen portrait of Houdon: "I knew him at an advanced age. He was a lively little man, striking in appearance and manner, who, when I met him, was approaching second childhood. He was not completely oblivious of the past, and still conversed well about sculpture, of those works of his own which he specially prized, of the period of his fame, of Voltaire and of Franklin, and of the other illustrious men, his contemporaries, who had sat to his chisel." His venerable appearance and the expression of his face inspired the respect that it commanded, and gave Gérard the desire to have him as a model for one of the old men in his well-known painting of the "Entry of Henry IV into Paris," which was exhibited in the Salon of 1817. Houdon, with his usual kindliness, consented, and he is one of the three magistrates who offer the keys of the city to the King. Gérard was so impressed by Houdon's physiognomy that he has repeated his face in several other heads in the picture, with changes insufficient to disguise the original. We are also fortunate in having several di-

[1] While it is quite common for painters to paint their own portraits, we recall no instance of a sculptor modeling his own bust.

rect portraits of Houdon, although they all show him in advanced years.

Mlle. Capet, the clever pupil of Mme. Guiard, who became the second wife of Vincent, the painter, exhibited in the Salon of 1800 a large miniature of Houdon, one-quarter life size, in which he was represented working on a bronze of Voltaire. Jacques Fremy painted and etched a sketch in profile, wearing the decoration of the Legion of Honor, which, although slight, being not much more than an outline, is said to have been a striking likeness. In 1808, when Rembrandt Peale was painting in Paris, he knew Houdon well and painted a fine portrait of him, as also one of David and one of Denon, all three of which are in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts at Philadelphia. But the portrait of Houdon by which he will go down to posterity is the work of Louis Boilly. Boilly painted him at least three times, but the most interesting is the one we use as our frontispiece, where the sculptor, in a suit of white, is standing before his block, modeling the bust of Bonaparte as First Consul. It is one of those characteristic portraits that speaks for its own truthfulness to every one, and belonged a few years since to M. Soret, of Versailles, from which our illustration is reproduced. Boilly made a lithograph of a full-face portrait of Houdon, in his series of members of the Institute of France, published in 1822. He also painted large canvases of "Houdon in his Atelier among his Students," and of "Houdon at Work in the Presence of his Three Daughters," the subject sitting being, as is

thought, Laplace the astronomer, although his bust is not among Houdon's known works.[1] The first of these paintings is in the Museum at Cherbourg, and the last in the Museum at Lille. From these several life portraits M. Elias Roberts made, in 1853, a marble bust for the Gallery of Artists in the Louvre, but it, of course, has merely commemorative value and not the authority of a life portrait. Of similar character is the most recent bust of Houdon, which surmounts a monument executed by P. Gasq, of Paris, forming one of a group, in the Cour du Carrousel, commemorating several celebrated artists of France. The model was exhibited in the Salon of 1909, and consists of a column, supporting the bust, with a figure of Diana, at the foot, gazing up at the master. The artist has striven to portray Houdon at the moment of the conception or inspiration of his Diana, and the expression is finely produced, while the female figure is extremely graceful and well modeled.

In bringing to a conclusion this volume, which has been a work of unfailing pleasure to the writers, it seems pertinent to inquire if any influence controlled Houdon, in the development of his art, beyond his own transcendent genius. At the period of Houdon's return to Paris, Diderot was the ruling king in the realm of artistic criticism, and it is manifest that the sculptor early made the acquaintance of the critic, as the latter's bust, by the former, was exhibited in 1771. It was against the faults of mannerism that

[1] At a loan exhibition of decorative art in Paris in April, 1906, there was exhibited a bronze bust of Joseph Vernet, the painter, attributed to Houdon, but this is its only record.

ANNE ANGE HOUDON

Diderot especially inveighed, and he sought to convert artists to the simple and unaffected style; and owing to the striking similarity in the ideas shared by the critic and the sculptor, as to the underlying principles of art, and the possession, by Houdon, of all the qualities exactingly required by Diderot in an artist, Délerot and Legrelle consider Diderot "the adviser if not the director of Houdon's talent." But to arrive at this conclusion it is necessary to expunge from the list of Houdon's works the great Saint Bruno, his first work, which was wrought in Rome before, we might almost say, Houdon had ever heard of Diderot, certainly before he could possibly have come under his influence, and which possesses all the distinguishing traits of Houdon's latest work, being marked above all other qualities by its severe simplicity. If there were any controlling influence exerted by one upon the other, it would rather be of the practical artist upon the theoretical critic, but in fact it is only what is so often found between two minds working in the same direction—an intellectual affinity; and when they met they found that congeniality of taste and thought that doubtless helped each onward in his respective work.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Houdon's Account of Expenses of his Voyage to and from America, 1788, October 20th.[1]

Achevé des Mémoires, Quittances et Bordereaux que M. houdon a conservés relativement à ses dépenses pour son voyages de Paris en Amérique et son retour en cette ville luy et 3 élèves pour le servir et l'aider dans son travail, depuis le mois de juillet 1785 jusqu'au trente un Decembre même année.

Frais de Poste pour luy et un de ses élèves de Paris au Havre	151.8
Frais de Poste pour les Deux autres élèves et d'auberge pour les trois pendant leur séjour	101.
Pour des Bottes	54.6
Achat de diverses choses necessaires pendant la traversée fait à Southampton	81.
Achat d'outils de terre d'utenciles necessaires pour faire le Buste du Général Washington, attendu que les caisses qui renfermoient les effets de M. Houdon ne sont arrivées peu près de six mois après son départ pour la france fait à Philadelphie	113.
Payé au tailleur pour l'habillement complet des quatre personnes par la raison cy dessus	552.
Au chapelier id one	60.
Au cordonier id	90.
Bas linge Le id	112.
La Blanchissage des quatre personnes pendant la totalité du voyage	75.
	1,389.14

[1] This account, in Houdon's own hand, bearing above endorsement, was sent by Jefferson to the Governor of Virginia, with the following memorandum: "M. Houdon having accompanied Dr. Franklin to America, who was equally employed with myself by the State of Virginia, the expenses herein charged were under his eyes and authority till Houdon's departure from America. The subsequent articles were examined and approved by me. THOS. JEFFERSON."

[TRANSLATION]

Totality of Memoranda containing Receipts and Accounts kept by M. Houdon relating to his expenditures for his voyages from Paris to America, and his return to that city, for himself and three pupils to serve and assist him in his work, from the month of July, 1785, until 31st December of the same year.

Charges for post-stage for himself and one of his Pupils, Paris to Havre	151.8
Charges for post-stage for the two other pupils and Inn charges for the three during their stay	101.
For Boots	54.6
Purchase of various necessary articles for the crossing (made at Southampton)	81.
Purchase of clay tools and utensils needed in making the bust of Gen'l Washington, owing to these having been inclosed with the effects of Mr. Houdon not arriving until nearly six months after the latter's departure for France —made in Philadelphia	113.
Paid to the tailor for complete outfit of four persons referred to above	552.
To Hatter, id one	60.
To Shoemaker, id	90.
To Stockings and Linen, id	112.
Washing for the four persons during the entire voyage . .	75.
	1,389.14

de l'autre part	1,389.14
Dépense à l'auberge de Philadelphie pendant 18 jours pour de l'autre part les 4 personnes	399.
Frais de la Route de Philadelphie à Alexandrie pour les mêmes compris les frais d'auberge et de retour . . .	970.
Dépense à l'auberge de Philadelphie après le retour d'Alexandrie pour les mêmes jusqu'au départ de M. Houdon et d'un élève de cette ville, environ un séjour de 18 jours	400.
Payé à l'auberge pendant 5 semaines après son départ pour les deux autres élèves	264.
Leur route de Philadelphie à New York leur frais d'auberge pendant la route et le séjour en attendant le vaisseau . .	185.
Celle de M. Houdon et de son élève au même à même endroit	328.10
Plus soldé avec MM. Franklin Père et fils Heyder Veydt et Cie pour frais payé par eux pendant le séjour de M. Houdon tant en Angleterre qu'en Amérique et diverses Achats	4,315.12
Passage des deux Élèves en france	1,000.
Leur séjour à l'Orient et leur retour à Paris	309.
Plus mêmes à mêmes frais, et frais d'auberge de	403.18
Passage de M. Houdon et de son Élève d'Amérique en angleterre	1,314.
Route de falmouth à Londres, idem	312.
Frais d'auberge pendant la route et à Londre et achat de diverses choses necessaires	450.
	12,040.14

[TRANSLATION]

Brought forward . .	1,389.14
Expenses at the Inn in Philadelphia during eighteen days for four (4) persons	399.
Expenses for Journey from Philadelphia to Alexandria for the same, including expenses at public house and return journey	970.
Expenditure at Inn in Philadelphia after return from Alexandria for the same until departure of Mr. Houdon and one pupil from this town, equaling a stay of about eighteen days	400.
Paid at the Inn during five weeks, after his departure, for the two other pupils	264.
Their journey from Philadelphia to New York, their charges at the Inn during the journey and for their stay while awaiting the vessel	185.
That of M. Houdon and his pupil for the same, the same passage	328.10
Add liquidated through Messrs Franklin, Father and Son, Heyder Veydt & Co. for charges paid by them during the stay of M. Houdon in England as well as in America and various purchases	4,315.12
Passage money of two (2) pupils to France	1,000.
Their stay at l'Orient and their return to Paris	309.
Add for same and same expenses, and charges at Inn . .	403.18
Passage money of Mr. Houdon and his pupil from America to England	1,314.
Journey Falmouth to London for same	312.
Charges at Inn during journey to London and purchase of various necessary articles	450.
	12,040.14

de l'autre part		12,040.14
Frais de retour de Londre à Paris pour les mêmes . . .		400.
Payé à l'emballeur pour les caisses		73.18
Frais de caisse venû de Londre à Paris par Dunkerque . .		54.6
		12,568.18
Reçu en Nov. 28, 1785	2,724.66	
Février 20, 1786, d'une lettre de change . . .	2,400.	
Mars 4, idem	3,600.	
1787	105.02	
1788, Oct. 20	2,721.93	
		11,550.17.9
Reste dû à M. Houdon		1,018.3

[TRANSLATION]

	Brought forward . .	12,040.14
Charges for return from London to Paris for the same . .		400.
Paid packer for packing effects		73.18
Charges for effects brought from London to Paris via Dunkirk		54.6
		12,568.18
Received Nov. 28, 1785	2,724.66	
Feb. 20, 1786, from letter of credit	2,400.	
Mar. 4 " " " "	3,600.	
1787 " " " "	105.02	
1788 Oct. 20	2,721.93	
		11,550.17.9
Remaining due Mr. Houdon		1,018.3

Appendix B

Explanation of the Model for the Statue of the King, which the Sieur Houdon has the honor to submit to the States of Brittany, and that he has executed at the request of Messieurs the Deputies.

The Sieur Houdon has conceived that this monument should express the feeling that has prompted the States of the Province of Brittany in having it erected; he conceives that he should follow the rule of unity or principle adopted in sculpture as in all the other arts.

He has desired that this monument should be such as a native-born artist of Brittany would have conceived, who, being present at the Session when the State voted the statue, would have shared, as a native-born subject, the sentiments pervading that august assembly, the wish to raise to the King a lasting monument of their affection and gratitude.

Explanation of the Subject. The King seated on the throne, showing to Brittany at his right hand the emblematical figure on his left, and telling him to take from its hands the patent assuring him of the freedom of his Deputies. Brittany, prostrate with gratitude and respect, looks at the King, and takes the patent offered him by the emblematic figure; the arms of the King behind the throne, the coat of arms of Brittany at his feet. There is no other pedestal but the steps to the throne.

The bas-reliefs will represent, if deemed appropriate:

The first—The union of Brittany and France;

The second—The son of Francis I, created Duke of Brittany, 1532;

The third—Henry IV, present at the meeting of the States of Brittany, 1590;

The fourth—Louis XIV, present at the meeting of the States of Brittany, 1661.

Eight inscriptions, relative to the monument, on two sides of each bas-relief; above each, the attributes of the three orders and the attributes of the nobility will indicate those of the army and navy.

The site at Brest destined for the monument, being sufficiently lofty to be seen from the port, requires that the elevation of the monument above the ground level should not exceed thirty-six feet, the little figure at the base serving, so to speak, as a scale of proportion. The person charged with exhibiting the model will please place it at such height as to bring the head of the little figure on a level with the eye of the spectator.

The artist has profited by the subject and the site to avoid, what is commonly called, a pedestal. The monument has no other base but that of the throne. It is to be observed that pedestals have been at times criticized.

The Sieur Houdon has imagined that, from his position, he might aspire as much as any other artist to the honor of executing this monument. For sixteen years he has benefited by the use of the workshops and furnaces of the municipality of Paris; he has used this advantage and his time in making himself, as well as all his workmen, capable of the execution of large works in bronze. He has already made several statues of this material, and his workmen are the only ones now remaining in Paris, those employed by Messrs. Bouchardon and Le Moyne having deceased.

The Sieur Houdon would esteem himself happy if his project coincides with the ideas of Nos Seigneurs of the States of Brittany. He will receive with submission the suggestions that N. S. [Nos Seigneurs] may be pleased to give him.

(From the printed copy in the National Library at Paris.)

Appendix C

Views on Competition in general, and especially as to the one for a Statue to J. J. Rousseau. By Houdon, Sculptor to the King and of the Academy of Painting and Engraving.

Competitions are useful, even absolutely essential for young people; they excite emulation in them and bestow a certain energy and courage leading to success: but for artists already formed, the effect is entirely contrary. Fearing all the time to compromise themselves, they end by really doing so. On the other hand, the young man who competes and fails to win the prize, is consoled by the hope of doing better and winning next time; he is sustained by that hope. Not being known, and still possessing youth, his failure can hardly do him the same harm as it does to the artist already formed, who no longer has the same resources. A failure to him is compromising to his reputation, without a hope of regaining it; for will he ever find a second opportunity? Will not public disfavor follow him? His fortune will diminish, for private orders will overlook him and find their way to the *successful* artist; for one must look at the thing reasonably (from the standpoint of common sense). Who will wish the services of an established artist who has been rejected?

Then, too, in competitive trials you will have a great many young people who, having nothing to lose and everything to gain, are only too happy to enter the lists, while their teachers will withdraw for exactly opposite reasons. It will be answered, what difference in a public matter? Genius is the appanage of youth; by this means we will open ways to it, and as a result we shall have a better work. I am in accord with the first idea, but not with the second. The first is true and entirely in

favor of the young people. The second is open to discussion and might prove of disadvantage to the public business.

When you desire to erect a public monument, two things are needful: noble conception—that is the part of genius; a perfect execution—that belongs to practice. Genius conceives, but it can execute only after practice. I shall not enlarge on this idea. It suffices, I think, to point it out. I shall therefore pass to an examination of the methods of competition, and I shall commence by the one most in use—I allude to small models. The most skilful artist will be the one to make the poorest. Accustomed to conceive and execute largely, his sketch will be conceived on those lines, and to the eyes even perhaps of connoisseurs the sketch of a mediocre artist, possessing less merit in itself but more worked up and finished because of his aptitude in it, will appear superior. Thus, to bring about competition that will result satisfactorily, which is really to get the best work, there remains another method to look into. This would be to choose six or eight of the cleverest sculptors of the Capital, and to have them compete with full-sized models; one could feel certain then of choosing with greater reason. But objections might be raised to this plan. Would artists compete? It is at least more than doubtful. If they did enter, however, how would the unsuccessful ones fare? Their lost time must be paid for, their outside expenses and, more than this, their models, for it would not be desirable to buy an excluded work; but even if all that were to be paid, the National Assembly could not restore the artist his lost prestige, and nothing could console him for being in the rejected class. Here are the drawbacks sufficiently developed, and I will sum up; but in doing so I shall suggest one more method of competition which, it seems to me, would be most worthy of the Nation and the artists, and which might give birth to the sort of emulation which leads to the best results and without the various drawbacks I have pointed out in the other methods; and that is, to take the whole career. I explain my meaning: The artist who shall labor from childhood, who shall have produced the most works, whose productions are most noted,

that one should be chosen; for to gain a certain degree of reputation, talent is necessary, genius, and much devotion. Thus, when the Nation seeks for a great work, let those charged with the business visit the various studios, and let the style of the works and the talent discovered put them in the way of deciding with clear apprehension; a poor choice will be rarer and more difficult to make.

As to the competition for a statue of J. J. Rousseau decreed by the National Assembly, which prompts me to put my views in writing, I can only plead one thing in my favor; that is, that the likeness of this great man is in some respects my property, as I am the only one, according to general opinion, who has succeeded in making a perfect likeness of him; that Rousseau is dead; that there is only his bust to go by; that it will be made use of, and that I shall have furnished weapons against myself. Perhaps I might add that one who, without planning or solicitation, has been selected by a free people to trace for them the images of two heroes, La Fayette and Washington—who is executing for America the statue of the last-named—might hope the same consideration from his native land, which became free also through the labors of its illustrious representatives. Nothing would be wanting then for his happiness, and he would feel assured that in inscribing his name on the statue of Jean-Jacques, voted by free Frenchmen, he would be obtaining immortality.

Appendix D

Copy of a Letter from M. Houdon, Sculptor, to the President of the Society "Friends of the Constitution."

Mr. President:

The motives for my conduct, relative to the competition decided upon by the Society "Friends of the Constitution," for the bust of Mirabeau, being susceptible of a misconstruction, I thought it owing to the public, and above all to the Society over which you preside and who had honored me by its first choice, to state precisely my exact sentiments. This is what I have tried to do in a small pamphlet which I beg to present. Not being willing, however, to renounce the honor of placing my work within the sacred precincts of the Society, I venture to hope that it will allow me to ask its acceptance of a plaster cast of the bust of Mirabeau; if it bears resemblance, and if any merit is discerned in it, it is because at the time the artist executed it he was animated by a desire to respond to the confidence the Society had honored him with. In addressing myself to you, Mr. President, I could not choose better for sympathizing with my point of view and a line of action consistent with my character.

I have the honor to be

HOUDON.

Paris, 5 June, 1791.

(From the printed copy in the National Library, Paris.)

Appendix E

NOTICE DES OBJETS D'ART[1]

qui seront vendus après le décès de M. J. A. Houdon statuaire, chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, membre de l'Académie des Beaux Arts de l'Institut de France, professeur émérite de l'École royale des Beaux Arts, etc., etc. Cette vente se fera le lundi 15 decembre 1828 et jours suivants, dans l'atelier de feu M. Houdon, cour de la Bibliothèque du Roi, rue de Richelieu, de midi à 4 heures de relevée.

L'exposition aura lieu le dimanche 14 du même mois.

La notice se distribue:

Chez { Me Fournel, commissaire priseur, quai des orfèvres, No. 6
M. Henri, expert-appréciateur, rue de Bondy, No. 23.

1828

Imprimerie d'Hippolyte Tilliard, rue de La Harpe, No 78.

1. Marbre blanc. Tête de Minerve vue de profil; ouvrage en bas-relief et destiné à être appliqué sur un fond.

2. Bronze. Diane nue, et la tête un peu détournée, se livrant à une course légère; la déesse tient une flèche de la main droite, et sa main gauche soutient un arc de petite proportion.

Cette statue, dont la pondération est parfaite et qui, par sa nudite et le caractère gracieux de ses formes, représenterait peut-être mieux une Venus chasseresse, offre certainement l'une des productions les plus

[1] Printed from the only known copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Departement des Imprimés, V. 36, n. 8°. No. 2724, 20 pages. The introduction is omitted.

remarquables de la statuaire moderne et mérite encore plus d'estime, si l'on considéré qu'elle est l'un des ouvrages qui ont le mieux concouru à rappeler à l'imitation de la nature et de l'antique à l'époque où il fut exécuté.

Cette statue de grandeur naturelle et d'une belle fonte est parfaitement ciselée et réparée.

3. Plâtre peint. Empreinte prise sur la figure précédente.

4. Bronze. Jolie copie réduite de la statue précédente.

5. Plâtre peint. Empreinte prise sur la réduction, qui vient d'être décrite.

6. Cire. Venus et Mars, groupe d'une petitesse extreme, supporte par une console formée par un masque humain.

7. Terre-cuite. Une esquisse représentant Milon de Crotone dévoré par un lion, ouvrage du célèbre Falconet.

8. Terre-cuite. Un bas-relief représentant la reine de Saba apportant des présents à Salomon. Cette composition est celle du grand prix de sculpture remporté par M. Houdon vers 1760.

9. Plâtre peint. Petit modèle de la belle statue de saint Bruno, executée en marbre par M. Houdon et placée à Rome dans l'église des Chartreux.

10. Marbre blanc. Portrait de Louis XIV, vu de profil: bas relief de forme ovale.

11. Marbre blanc. Buste habillé de Voltaire, par M. Houdon.

12. Marbre blanc. Buste de Voltaire, sur socle en marbre veiné, par M. Houdon.

13. Carton bronzé. Statue assise de Voltaire, maquette qui a servi dans la cérémonie de la translation des cendres de ce grand homme au Panthéon français.

14. Plâtre. Modèle réduit de la statue de Voltaire par M. Houdon, qui était placée au Panthéon français.

15. Plâtre. Masque moulé sur la visage de J. J. Rousseau peu d'heures après sa mort; cette précieuse empreinte qui est unique a été fait par M. Houdon, sur l'invitation de feu M. le Comte de Girardin chez lequel ce philosophe mourut le 3 juillet 1778. (Sur ce plâtre, voyez la Biographie universelle, article *Rousseau.*)

16. Plâtre peint. Buste de J. J. d'Alembert, mort le 29 octobre 1783.

17. Terre-cuite. Buste de Diderot, mort le 30 juillet 1784.

18. Buste du prince Henri de Prusse.

19. Plâtre. Buste de Bailly, président de l'Assemblée Constituante.

20. Plâtre. Buste de Paul John, général américain.

21. Plâtre coloré. Buste de J. F. Pilatre de Rosier, physicien, tué près de Boulogne, le 15 juin 1785.

22. Plâtre. Buste de C. Gluck, mort le 15 novembre 1787.

23. Plâtre coloré. Buste de P. J. B. Gerbier, avocat-général, mort le 26 mars 1788.

24. Plâtre. Buste de G. L. L., comte de Buffon, mort le 16 avril 1788.

25. Plâtre coloré. Buste du président Dupaty, mort le 17 septembre 1788.

26. Plâtre bronzé. Buste du docteur Tronchin.

27. Terre-cuite. Buste de B. Francklin, mort le 17 avril, 1790.

28. Plâtre. Buste de G.-A.-H., comte de Guibert, membre de l'Académie des Sciences, mort vers 1790.

29. Terre-cuite. Buste de Riquetti (H.-G.), comte de Mirabeau, mort le 2 avril 1791.

30. Plâtre. Buste de l'abbé Barthélemy, mort le 30 avril 1795.

31. Plâtre peint. Buste de Joseph Balsamo, dit *Cagliostro,* mort au château de Saint-Léon en 1795.

32. Marbre blanc. Buste de Hue de Miromènil, garde des Sceaux, mort le 6 juillet 1796.

33. Plâtre. Buste de M. de Nicolai, premier président de la cour des Aides.

34. Plâtre. Masque de la statue de Joubert, général en chef de l'armée française en Italie, tué à la bataille de Novi en 1799.

35. Plâtre. Buste de Washington, général en chef des armées américaines pendant la guerre de l'indépendance.

36. Plâtre. Buste de J. Lalande, astronome, mort le 4 avril 1807.

37. Marbre blanc. Buste de M. Lenoir, ancien lieutenant de police, mort en 1807.

38. Plâtre peint. Portrait en bas-relief de J. M. Montgolfier, mécanicien, l'un des inventeurs des aérostats, mort le 26 juin 1810.

39. Terre-cuite. Buste de M. J. de Chénier, membre de l'Institut, mort le 10 janvier 1811.

40. Terre-cuite. Buste de l'impératrice Joséphine, sur piédouche en marbre veiné.

41. Plâtre. Buste de M. Barlow, ministre des États-Unis, près la cour de France; auteur du poëme de "La Colombiade," etc.

42. Plâtre. Buste de feu M. le maréchal Ney, prince de la Moskowa.

43. Terre-cuite. Buste en hermès à diadême de Napoléon Bonaparte, modelé à S. Cloud en 1806. Ce buste, pour lequel l'artiste réçut beaucoup de séances, passe avec raison pour celui de tous les portraits de Napoléon où sa physionomie est rendue avec le plus de vérité.

44. Terre-cuite. Buste de Napoléon en costume militaire.

45. Plâtre. Buste de M^me^. la comtesse Regnauld de S. Jean d'Angély.

46. Plâtre. Masque de feu M. le comte Boissy d'Anglas, pair de France et membre de l'Institut. Ce masque a été moulé pendant la vie de ce personnage.

47. Plâtre. Buste de Jefferson, ancien président de la république des États-Unis.

48. Plâtre. Buste de feu Larive, tragédien célèbre.

49. Marbre blanc. Buste de M. Camus-Gréneville, ancien magistrat.

50. Plâtre. Buste de R. Fulton, inventeur des bâteaux à vapeur.

51. Marbre blanc. Buste de M. le général Lafayette, en costume de

commandant de la garde nationale de Paris: ce buste, voté en 1791 par la commune de Paris, a éprouvé en 1793, une mutilation qui a été reparée.

52. Terre-cuite. Buste de Mme. ——, les cheveux relevés derrière la tête, et le sein et les épaules enveloppés d'une draperie.

53. Plâtre. Buste de M. le maréchal Soult, duc de Dalmatie.

54. Plâtre. Buste de feu M. Moitte, statuaire.

55. Plâtre. Buste de Mme. la princesse de Salm.

56. Plâtre. Portrait à mi-corps de Mme. de Sérilly.

57. Terre-cuite. Buste de Mme. de Vermenon.

58. Plâtre. Buste de Mme. de Berwick.

59. Marbre blanc. Buste de jeune homme couronné de myrte.

60. Plâtre coloré. Buste de feu Mlle. de Tarente, exécuté après sa mort.

61. Terre-cuite. Buste d'une jeune femme les cheveux nonés derrière la tête.

62. Marbre blanc. Copie réduite de "la Frileuse" par M. Houdon.

63. Marbre blanc. Buste de jeune femme, les cheveux attachés derrière la tête: cette jolie tête d'étude présente le caractère de la douceur.

64. Plâtre. Le grand Écorché, épreuve peinte à l'huile et offrant les couleurs des muscles, vines et tendons.

65. Plâtre. Le moule de la figure précédente. L'acquisition de ce moule conférera la propriété de la figure, l'une des plus estimées de notre école.

66. Plâtre. Tête de l'Écorché peinte à l'huile.

67. Marbre blanc. Deux petits têtes d'enfants, dont l'une pleure et l'autre rit.

68. Marbre blanc. Un oiseau mort et les pattes attachées à un clou.

69. Un grand nombre de bustes, figurines et esquisses, en terre-cuite et en plâtre, qui seront divisés par lots.

70. Pastel. Portrait du maréchal de Saxe, attribué à Latour.

71. Un petit nombre de tableaux et de gravures.

72. Cliché du prix de vertu. Idem, "le naissance du Dauphin," par Duvivier. Idem, "aux braves armées," etc., d'après Droz.

73. Un grand nombre de masque de personnages célèbres le plupart moulés de leur vivant, tels que ceux de M. Moitte, statuaire; M. Arnaud, de l'Académie Française, etc.

74. Des objets ornis seront appelés et vendus sous ce numéro.

Appendix F

CATALOGUE OF HOUDON'S WORKS

Statues and Monuments

Apollo.

Bronze. "For Girardot de Marigny." Collection of Leopold Goldschmidt, Paris.

Baigneuse (A Bather).

Gypsum. Salon, 1775. "To be executed in marble."

Marble. In possession of Benjamin Altman, New York.

Bartholomæus (Saint Bartholomew).

Stone, 18 feet high. For the Church of the Holy Cross in Orléans.

Bruno (Saint).

Statue, marble. Height, 9½ feet. In the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, Rome.

Catharine (Saint).

Stone. For Church of the Holy Cross in Orléans.

Ceres.

Stone. Height, 6 feet. For the Comte d'Artois.

Charles the Great (Charlemagne).

Gilded cardboard, life size, for the "Fête-Dieu" at Versailles.

Cicero.

Plaster. Salon, 1808.

Colossal marble. Ordered by Napoleon for the Senate Chamber.

Diana.

1. Marble. For the Empress of Russia. In the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

2. Bronze. Purchased by the French government, at the sale of Houdon's collection in 1828, for 4000 francs. In the Louvre.
3. Bronze. Salon, 1783. Made for Girardot de Marigny; afterward owned by Lord Hertford, and subsequently by Charles T. Yerkes, New York.
4. Bronze. In Museum at Tours.

L'Écorché.

1. Plaster. At École des Beaux Arts, Paris.
2. Plaster. At École des Beaux Arts, Paris.
3. Bronze. At École des Beaux Arts, Paris.

Ennery.

Mortuary monument to the Comte d'Ennery. Height, 6 feet; width, 7 feet. Group of three figures and a bust, marble. Formerly at Pontoise.

Fountain.

Group of two figures, life size, one of marble, the other in lead painted black, representing a negress. Salon, 1783. Destroyed in French Revolution.

La Frileuse, "Shivering One," or "Winter."

Marble. Salon, 1783. In the Museum at Montpellier.
Bronze. Salon, 1791.
Marble. Salon, 1796.

Galitzin.

Mortuary monuments to the two Princes Galitzin. Salon, 1773. In the Church of Notre Dame de Kazan at Moscow.
Model. Salon, 1777. In the Louvre.

John the Baptist.

Gypsum. In the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, Rome.
Head in plaster. Museum of Gotha.

JOUBERT, GENERAL.

Statue, marble. Salon, 1812.

Statuette. Reduction for china factory at Sèvres.

MINERVA.

Gilded cardboard. For Versailles Theatre.

MORPHEUS.

Statue, gypsum. Life size. Salon, 1771. In Museum at Gotha.

Statuette. Reduction of the former. Marble. Height, 60 inches; length, 66 inches. Exhibited in 1777. In the Louvre.

A NAIAD.

Model for a fountain in a garden.

NAPOLEON.

Bronze. Height, 18 feet; or, according to others, 15 feet. Ordered for the Column of Boulogne. In 1817 melted down and used in casting statue of Henry IV by Lemot.

PETER (SAINT).

Stone. Height, 18 feet. For Church of the Holy Cross in Orléans.

PHILOSOPHY (Saint Scholastique).

Marble, 7½ feet high. Intended for the Church of the Invalides. In 1793 changed to a statue of Philosophy and placed in the Hall of the Convention.

SAXE-GOTHA, DUCAL FAMILY OF.

Mortuary monument (model) to the Duchess Louise Dorothea. Salon, 1775.

STEPHEN (SAINT).

Stone, 18 feet high. For a church in Orléans.

SUMMER (in the likeness of a young maid).

Marble. In the Museum at Montpellier.

TOURVILLE, MARSHAL.

Marble. Salon, 1781. At Versailles.

A Vestal.

Statue, marble, 6 feet in height. 1787.

Voltaire.

Marble, life size. Seated. Salon, 1781. In foyer of Théâtre-Français.

Terra-cotta. Smaller than life. Museum at Montpellier.

Marble, life size. Standing. Salon, 1812. By Voltaire's tomb in the Panthéon.

Washington.

Marble, life size. 1788. In the Capitol at Richmond.

Statuettes

La Petite Frileuse.

Bronze, cast from original sketch. Salon, 1793. In the Louvre.

Molière.

Seated figure. "In Museum at Orléans" (Montaiglon).

Priest of the Lupercal Feast.

Bronze; height, 31 inches.

Sibylle.

Vestal.

Bronze. To serve as night lamp. 1777.

Voltaire.

From statue at Théâtre-Français, bearing Houdon's seal. In the Louvre.

Busts of Men

Alembert, d'.

Marble. 1782. In Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

Alexander the Great.

Marble. Salon, 1783. "For the King of Poland."

Arlandes, d'.

AUBERT, ABBÉ.
Marble. In the Louvre.

AUVERGNE, D' (Director of the Opera).
Marble.

BAILLY (DE SYLVAIN), Mayor of Paris.
Salon, 1791. Destroyed August 10, 1792.

BARLOW, JOEL, United States Minister to France.
Marble. Salon, 1804. Owned by H. P. Chambers, Washington, Pa.
Plaster. In Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia.
Plaster. In National Academy of Design, New York.

BARNAVE.
Bronzed terra-cotta.

BARTHÉLEMY, J. J., author of "Anacharsis."
Salon, 1795.
Marble. Salon, 1802.

BIGNON, Mayor of Paris.
Salon, 1771. In Museum of Montpellier.

BIRÉ, DE.
Marble. Salon, 1785.

BOISSY D'ANGLAS, COMTE.
Marble. Salon, 1812.

BOUCQUIER.
Terra-cotta.

BOUFFLERS, DE.
Gypsum. Salon, 1789.

BOUILLÉ, MARQUIS DE.
Marble. Salon, 1787.

BUFFON, DE.
Marble. Ordered by the Empress of Russia. Salon, 1783.
Marble. Salon, 1789. In the Louvre.
Plaster. In the Museum at Dijon.

CAGLIOSTRO (named Joseph Balsamo).

Marble. Musée at Aix.

Gypsum. Owned by M. Storreli, who married the granddaughter of Maître Thélonier, advocate of Cagliostro, to whom Cagliostro gave the bust.

CAMUS-GRÉNEVILLE, Magistrate.

Marble. Houdon sale, 1828; No. 49.

CAPPERONNIER.

Terra-cotta.

CAUMARTIN, DE, Mayor.

Marble. Salon, 1779.

CHARLES IX.

Gypsum. Salon, 1777.

CHARLES (Aeronaut).

CHARRIÈRE.

Terra-cotta, on marble pedestal. Musée de Neufchâtel.

CHÉNIER, MARIE-JOSEPH, poet and member of the Institute.

Terra-cotta. Purchased at Walferdin sale by P. Lacroix for 9000 francs.

COLBERT.

Gypsum. 1787.

COLIN D'HARLEVILLE.

Marble. Salon, 1806.

CONDORCET.

Marble. Salon, 1785. In American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

CONTY, PRINCE OF.

Gypsum.

COURLEVAN, DE.

DIDEROT.

Marble. Salon, 1771.

Terra-cotta. In the Louvre.

DUCLOS.

DUMOURIEZ, GENERAL.

Marble. Formerly in Palais Royal and thought to have been destroyed in 1848, but recently unearthed and now at Versailles.

Plaster. In Museum at Angers.

DUQUESNOY.

Marble. Signed, "Houdon." In the Louvre.

DU PATY.

Salon, 1779.

FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN.

Terra-cotta. Salon, 1779. Houdon's sale, 1828; No. 27. In the Louvre.

Marble. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

FRANQUIÈRES, DE.

Marble.

FULTON, ROBERT.

Marble. Salon, 1804.

Plaster. Museum of Marine, Paris.

Terra-cotta. In the National Academy of Design, New York City.

GERBIER (Advocate).

Gypsum. Salon, 1781.

GLÜCK.

1. Marble. Salon, 1777. Formerly in Opera House, Paris; destroyed by fire in 1873.
2. Gypsum. Berlin Museum.
3. Terra-cotta. Saxe-Gotha.

GUIBERT.

Gypsum.

HARLEVILLE, COLIN D'.

Plaster. In Museum at Chartres.

HAUDRY.

Gypsum. In Museum at Orléans.

JEFFERSON, THOMAS.

Plaster. Salon, 1789. In New York Historical Society.

Plaster. In American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

JONES, JOHN PAUL.

Terra-cotta. Salon, 1781. In Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Presented by Jones to General William Irvine.

JOUBERT.

Marble. Salon, 1812. In Versailles Museum.

LABORDE, DE.

Marble.

LA FAYETTE, MARQUIS DE.

Marble. Salon, 1787. In the Capitol at Richmond, Va.

Marble. Salon, 1791. At Versailles.

LA FONTAINE.

Marble. Salon, 1783. Model made in 1781.

LALANDE, DE.

Gypsum.

LA RIVE, DE.

Marble. Salon, 1783. In Théâtre-Français.

LAVOISIER.

Terra-cotta. Bearing the seal of Houdon. In the Louvre.

LE NOIR.

Marble. Salon, 1785.

LE PELLETIER DE MORTFONTAINE.

Plaster. Salon, 1785.

LE PELLETIER DE SAINT-FARGEAU.

Signed by Houdon.

LOUIS XVI.
Marble. In Museum at Versailles.

LOUIS (Surgeon).
Marble. Salon, 1783.

MALTERRES.
Terra-cotta.

MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN, PRINCE OF.
Marble. Salon, 1783.

MEIANES, MARQUIS OF.
Marble.

MELLON.
Terra-cotta.

MENTELLE.
Gypsum.

MIRABEAU.
Marble. Exhibited by Houdon, Year IX. In the Louvre.
A bust, without indication as to material, in Salon of 1791.
A terra-cotta bust at Houdon's sale, 1795, No. 100. Costumed as Deputy. In Museum at Angers.
Ditto, at Houdon's sale of 1828, No. 29; purchased by Walferdin. Transferred to the Louvre in 1880.

MIROMÉNIL, MARQUIS DE.
Marble. Salon, 1775. Houdon sale, 1828; No. 32.
Plaster bronzed. In Museum at Orléans.

MOITTE.
Gypsum.

MOLIÈRE.
Terra-cotta. Salon, 1779.
Marble. In the foyer of the Théâtre-Français.
Plaster. Ducal Museum at Gotha.

MONTELLE, Member of the Institute.

Marble. Salon, 1802.

NAPOLEON.

Marble. As First Consul.

Marble. Salon, 1806.

Marble. Salon, 1808. First at Tuileries; now in Museum at Versailles.

Terra-cotta. Houdon sale, 1828; No. 43. In the Museum at Dijon.

NECKER.

Marble. Salon, 1791. Placed in Hôtel de Ville. Destroyed August 10, 1792.

NEGERIN.

Gypsum.

NEY, MARSHAL.

Marble. Salon, 1804. Formerly at Tuileries; destroyed in 1870.

Gypsum. In Versailles Museum.

NICOLAI, DE.

Marble. Salon, 1779.

Gypsum.

NIVERNAIS, DUC DE.

Plaster bronzed. In Museum at Besançon.

PAJOU.

Terra-cotta. Signed by Houdon.

PALISSOT.

Gypsum.

Terra-cotta. In reading-room, Mazarin Library.

PASTORET.

Terra-cotta. Salon, 1796.

PRASLIN, DUC DE.

Marble. Salon, 1781.

PRÉVILLE (Actor).

Bronze. In foyer of Théâtre-Français.

PROVENCE, COMTE DE, afterward Louis XVIII.
Marble. Salon, 1777.
PRUSSIA, PRINCE HENRY OF.
Gypsum. Salon, 1785.
Marble. "For the King." Salon, 1787.
Bronze. Salon, 1789. At Palace in Berlin.
QUESNAY, Physician.
Gypsum. Salon, 1781.
ROSIER, PILÂTRE DE.
Gypsum. Salon, 1789. Houdon's sale, 1828; No. 21.
ROUSSEAU, J.-J.
Terra-cotta. Salon, 1779. "Appartient à M. le Marquis de Gérardin."
Bronze. In the Louvre. Acquired in 1838.
Gypsum (bronzed). In the Museum of Gotha.
Marble. In Girard College, Philadelphia.
Terra-cotta. In Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
RUSSIA, EMPEROR OF (Alexander).
Salon, 1814.
SACCHINI.
SOLTIKOFF, GENERAL.
Marble. Salon, 1783.
SOLTIKOFF, COUNT, son of the General.
Marble. Salon, 1783.
SOULT, MARSHAL.
Marble.
SUFFREN, BAILLY DE.
Marble. Salon, 1787. For the Dutch East India Company, Department of Zealand. In the Mauritshuis Museum at The Hague.
Plaster. Museum at Aix.
SWEDEN, KING OF (Gustave III).
Gypsum. Salon, 1785.

TRONCHIN (Physician).

Marble. Salon, 1781.

TURGOT.

1. Marble. Salon, 1777.

2. Plaster. In the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

VALBELLE, DE.

Gypsum.

VICTINGHOFF, BARON LE.

Plaster. Salon, 1777.

VOLTAIRE.

Plaster. With wig and drapery. 1778. In foyer of Théâtre-Français.

Marble. Without wig, in antique style. Salon, 1779. In Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

Bronze. Without wig, in antique style. In the Louvre.

Terra-cotta. With wig and coat and vest. In Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

WAILLY, DE.

Terra-cotta.

WASHINGTON.

Terra-cotta. 1785. Houdon's sale, 1828; No. 35. In the Louvre.

Marble. Salon, 1787.

WIETINGHOFF.

Gypsum. 1777.

BUSTS OF WOMEN

ADELAÏDE, MME., daughter of Louis XV.

Marble. Salon, 1777.

ANSPACH, COUNTESS OF.

Marble. Salon, 1802.

ARNOULD, SOPHIE.

Marble. In the rôle of "Iphigenia." Salon, 1775. Formerly in collection of Sir Richard Wallace.

BERWICK, MME. DE.
Gypsum.

BIGNON, MME.
Salon, 1771.

BOCQUET, MLLE.
Terra-cotta. Salon, 1777.

CAYLA, MME. LA COMTESSE DE.
Marble. Salon, 1775.

CHARLIER, MME.
Terra-cotta.

COTHERON, MLLE. DE.
Marble.

DASCHKAU, PRINCESS, Directress of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg.
Plaster. Salon, 1781.
Bronze. Salon, 1783.
"Houdon, the statuary, occupied a good deal of my time, to whom, at my daughter's desire, I sat for my bust in bronze as large as life." "Memoirs of the Princess Daschkau," Vol. I, p. 225.

HIS, MME. DE.
Marble. Salon, 1775.

HOUDON, MME., wife of the sculptor.
Plaster. Salon, 1787. In the Louvre.

HOUZE, BARONNE DE LA.
Salon, 1775.
Marble. Salon, 1777.

JAUCOURT, MME. LA COMTESSE DE.
Marble. Salon, 1777.

JOSEPHINE.
Marble. Salon, 1806.
Marble. Salon, 1808. Formerly in the Tuileries, now in the Museum at Versailles.
Terra-cotta. Houdon sale, 1828; No. 40.

Lise, The Little.
Marble.

Mailly, Mme. de.
Terra-cotta. Salon, 1771.

Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Princess of.
Marble. Salon, 1783.

Odéoud, Mlle.
Marble. "For the Marquis de Marigny." Salon, 1781.

Olivier, Mlle.
Gypsum. Salon, 1789.

Petit, Mme.
Terra-cotta.

Provence, Wife of the Comte de.
Marble. Salon, 1777.

Raucourt, Mlle., celebrated opera-singer.
Marble.

Regnauld, Comtesse.
Gypsum.

Robert, Mlle., daughter of the painter.
Marble. Salon, 1783.

Rode, Mme.
Marble. Salon, 1802.

Russia, Empress of (Catharine II).
Marble. Larger than life size. Salon, 1773.

Salm, Princess.
Gypsum.

Sérilly, Mme. de.
Plaster. Salon, 1781.
Marble. Signed, "Houdon F 1782." In collection of Sir Richard Wallace, Hertford House, London.

Servat, Mlle.
Marble.

SERVAT, MME.
Marble. Salon, 1777.

TARENTE, MLLE. "Executed after death."
Gypsum.

THÉNARD, MARIE MADELINE PERRIN, called.
Extract from "Ma Vie au Théâtre," by Jenny Thénard, of the Comédie-Française (p. 13): "She, my great-grandmother, desired to be interred with the head of a sketch of a statuette, by Houdon, representing her in the character of *Mérope*. When she was disinterred, in 1877, at the death of my grandmother, the little head by Houdon was found in her coffin. I gave this statuette to the Carnavalet Museum."

VERMENON, MME. DE.
Marble.

VESTAL.
Marble. Signed, "Houdon F 1788." In the Louvre.

VICTOIRE, MME., daughter of Louis XV.
Marble. Salon, 1777. Signed, "A. Houdon Fecit 1777." In Wallace collection, Hertford House, London.

BUSTS OF CHILDREN

BRONGNIART, ALEXANDRE.
Marble. Salon, 1777.
Terra-cotta. In the Louvre.

BRONGNIART, LOUISE.
Marble. Salon, 1777.
Terra-cotta. Signed, "Houdon 1777." In the Louvre.
Marble. Owned by B. Altman, New York.

ESPAGNE, D'.
Terra-cotta.

HOUDON, ANNE-ANGE, second daughter of the sculptor.
Terra-cotta. With the seal of Houdon's studio. In the Louvre.

HOUDON, CLAUDINE, third and youngest daughter of the sculptor.
Plaster. With the seal of Houdon's studio. Sold at Decourcelle sale, Paris, to M. Robert Linzeler.

HOUDON, SABINE, eldest daughter of the sculptor.
Original plaster. In the Louvre.

INFANT'S HEAD. Aged ten months.
Marble. Salon, 1789.

NOAILLES, DE.

IDEAL HEADS

TWO ANGELS, supporting the French Coat of Arms. Formerly in the Theatre at Versailles.

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW.
Bust. Marble. For Salon, Year X.

BELISARIUS.
Bust. Salon, 1773.

MARS AND VENUS.
Small group. Wax. Houdon sale, 1828; No. 6.

MEDUSA. Head after the antique.
Salon, 1775.

MINERVA.
Bust. Stone. In the courtyard of the Palace of the Institute.

THE NEST-ROBBERS.
Signed, "Houdon." Sale held December 23, 1845; No. 98.

MEDALLIONS

ALEXANDER.
Salon, 1771.

MINERVA.
Marble bas-relief. Head in profile. Salon, 1777.

Miroménil, Mme. de.

Montgolfier (Balloonists).

Portraits of Joseph and Étienne Montgolfier in profile, accolated. Plaster. In the Trocadéro Museum in Paris.

Saxe-Gotha, Ducal Family of.

Gypsum, bronzed. Salon, 1773.

Frederick III.

Ernest Louis.

Marie Charlotte of Saxe-Meiningen, consort of the former.

Frederike Luise, sister of Duke Ernest Louis.

Bas-reliefs

Christ Giving Keys to Saint Peter.

For Church of St. Geneviève, afterward the Panthéon. Statue destroyed or taken away in 1792.

Dead Thrush.

Marble. In Houdon's sale of 1828, No. 68. Owned by M. le Comte Gabriel de Castries, Paris.

"Hope and Religion."

Stone. Ordered for St. Cloud.

Louis XIV.

Marble bas-relief of oval form. Head in profile. Houdon sale, 1828; No. 10.

Sheba and Solomon.

Terra-cotta. Houdon won the "Prix de Rome" with this in 1761.

Masks

Arnauld, Member of the French Academy.

Made from life.

Boissy d'Anglas, Comte.

Life-mask. Houdon sale, 1828; No. 46.

Créquy, Marquise de.
Mask after death.

Jefferson.
Life-mask.

Joubert, General.
Houdon sale, 1828; No. 34.

Mirabeau.
Moulded after death.

Moitte.
Moulded from life.

Rousseau.
Moulded after death. Houdon sale, 1828; No. 15.

Washington.
Moulded from life. Houdon sale, 1828; doubtless under No. 73.
Owned by J. Pierpont Morgan.

Appendix G

LIST OF AUTHORITIES USED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS WORK

Quatremère de Quincy's Notice Historique sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de M. Houdon. 1829.

Montaiglon et Duplessis's Houdon, sa Vie et ses Ouvrages. 1855.

Délerot et Legrelle, Mémoire sur la Vie et l'Œuvre de J. A. Houdon. 1857.

Dierks's Houdon's Leben und Werke. 1887.

Terrade's Autour de la Statue de Jean Houdon. 1892.

Biographie Universelle. 1858.

New Biographie Générale. 1861.

Jal's Dictionnaire Critique de Biographie et d'Histoire. 1872.

Lami's Dictionnaire des Sculpteurs de l'École Française. 1910.

Gazette des Beaux Arts.

Paul Vitry in Les Arts and in La Revue de l'Art.

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